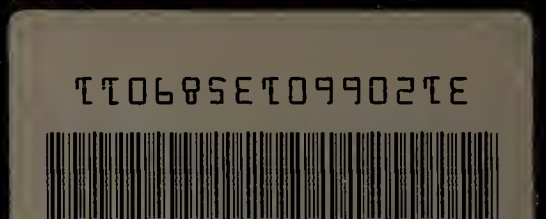
1-1-1992

Work and family : the experience of clergywomen.

Maureen McCarthy Bingham
University of Massachusetts Amherst



WORK AND FAMILY: THE EXPERIENCE OF CLERGYWOMEN

A Dissertation Presented

by

MAUREEN MCCARTHY BINGHAM

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1992

School of Education

WORK AND FAMILY: THE EXPERIENCE OF CLERGYWOMEN

A Dissertation Presented

By

MAUREEN MCCARTHY BINGHAM

Approved as to style and content by:

Carolyn P. Edwards, Chairperson

Grace J. Craig, Member

Eleanor McLaughlin, Member

Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The conceptualization and research for this dissertation, as well as the analyses, writing, reviewing and editing, could only have been possible with the ideas, help and support of many people.

First of all, I would like to thank the faculty and staff of the School of Education, especially those in Division IV, with whom I have worked over the past several years in pursuit of this degree and the knowledge and learning it represents. In particular, I would like to acknowledge my appreciation to my dissertation committee members, Grace Craig and Eleanor McLaughlin, for their willingness to take on another commitment and for their suggestions, ideas and lively discussions.

Carolyn Edwards, who served as Chair of this committee, and as advisor in my graduate program, has provided me with the support, challenge and encouragement I needed to complete my program and degree work. She also helped to supply the incentive and practical advice which made it all possible. I enjoyed working with her during my years at the University, and miss her presence on campus.

The women who agreed to participate in this study deserve special thanks, and I only wish I could more publicly acknowledge these wonderful and wise members of the clergy. The interviews I conducted with these women provided me with occasions for intellectual, spiritual and emotional insight and growth as well as

with a wealth of information for this dissertation. I hope that this research study will benefit women clergy in some way as a means of giving back some of what has been shared with me.

My family, particularly my husband, Rick, has been a source of tremendous support and encouragement, and I offer them my deepest and most heartfelt thanks. Rick has helped in numerous ways during my graduate years and especially in the undertaking of the dissertation research. Extra housework, childcare, listening to ideas, reading, proofreading and discussing these issues with me were invaluable sources of support, as was the supply of confidence in me when my own was lacking.

My children, Aaron, age nine, and Kendra, age five, helped in many ways also. They understood when I wasn't as available as I used to be, and they allowed me long, uninterrupted times at the word processor. A few needed backrubs and hugs, rewinding the tapes for me, and even typing in a few words were some of the other ways in which they were helpful. So I want to thank both of them.

Finally, although there are many more people I would like to name and acknowledge, I must end with one final thanks, and that to Eileen Besse, who typed the final version of this dissertation. But more than that, for she has become a friend over the years as I stop in at Division IV. Her encouragement, humor and ability to stay on top of everything are gratefully appreciated.

ABSTRACT

WORK AND FAMILY: THE EXPERIENCE OF CLERGYWOMEN

FEBRUARY 1992

MAUREEN MCCARTHY BINGHAM, B.A., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

M.Ed., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

Directed by: Professor Carolyn Pope Edwards

This is a study of the roles of professional and mother as experienced by clergywomen. Research was discussed with reference to work-family role integration and clergy family issues.

Sixteen participants were interviewed twice in ninety-minute audiotaped sessions which were later transcribed and coded for prevalent themes. The major themes identified were (1) stresses and challenges, (2) rewards and satisfactions, (3) issues of authority, and (4) issues of nurturance.

Results revealed a pattern of stresses and rewards in these dual roles, with rewards outweighing stresses.

Rewards included flexibility, variety of work; expertise in balancing multiple demands; new spiritual insights; greater understanding of developmental stages; more acceptance of self and others; and increased sensitivity in counseling roles.

Stresses and challenges included expectations of fulfilling multiple roles; difficulty in protecting children from negative experiences; managing rivalry in the congregation; the pace and

sense of being always "on call"; seasonal pressures; and financial difficulties.

The expression of nurturance was considered the ground of both nurturance and authority. Skills and sensitivities in both roles were thought to be similar.

Challenges included dependency needs of some congregants, the need to model emotional and spiritual health and confrontation of the semi-divine expectations placed on clergy.

Opportunities identified were the integration of work and family values and the recognition of people's gifts.

Authority issues included the challenge to hierarchical models in the ministry and rabbinate, realistic expectations of clerical roles, issues of exertion and extension of authority, and the dilemmas of developing lay leadership.

Differences and similarities in extending authority at home and in the family were identified and an emphasis on the connections between authority and nurturance were noted.

Methodologically, this study provided an in-depth presentation of significant issues in the lives of clergywomen who are mothers. It was exploratory in nature, and was meant to raise issues and questions for further research.

Further research is warranted with different populations of clergywomen in both qualitative and quantitative forms to determine the generalizability of the findings. Practical implications concerning the results of the study are presented for policy recommendations, clergy education and counseling.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

Significance of the Study

This research developed from a long-standing concern for and academic interest in the relationship between work and family in the lives of women who struggle to bring the best that they have to offer to these dual roles in their lives.

Freud's dictum that a healthy person is one who is able to work and to live seemed to be expressed most clearly in putting those two aspects of human experience together.

And yet, the realities that families where both parents (or the mother alone in the case of a single-parent family) had to work outside the home presented a different picture. With women finding little childcare support, unequal compensation, differential work and a simultaneously negative judgment on both their parenting and their performance in the workplace, to "work and to love" certainly could not be viewed as "healthy" in these circumstances.

Marxist, feminist family systems and a host of other theoretical frameworks have been developed for understanding and analyzing this problem. This body of theory and research is presented in full in the literature review segment of this dissertation. Although there is an enormous amount of data

documenting the stresses involved for women who struggle with the burdens just described, and some very serious theories, both economic and social, to explain why conditions are the way they are, something seems to be missing.

Most of this material fails to address the positive and enhancing aspects of these dual roles in ways that still give service to the very real social and economic problems that women who worked outside the home faced. This is not to deny the importance of confronting these issues. They are the primary cause of poverty for families in our country today.

Yet, if we do not see, name, value, affirm, reward and proclaim what women do in mothering, what they learn from the experience, how they develop as human beings as a result of the process of caretaking and what they have to offer as a result, we will continue to place a vast wealth of human experience outside of the public domain and, in effect, penalize women for the time, energy and talent that they use and develop in raising children.

We will also be unable to benefit as a society from abilities that we have failed to name and experience that we have ignored. It is unlikely that we can compensate women justly if we do not acknowledge their total experience as human beings, experience that was not "time out" or that can or should be left at the workplace door.

A recent book by Mary Catherine Bateson, entitled Composing a Life (1989), examines the issue of the value of the complete life of women and the absurdity of the artificial boundaries between work life and family life by considering the lives of four very prominent women. Dr. Bateson also began to articulate the kinds of abilities women derive from their multiple roles and what bringing those strengths to even wider spheres of influence might mean politically and even ecologically.

So, first of all, this is a research project about the whole fabric of women's lives in terms of work and family issues.

Secondly, it is a consideration of these issues as they are experienced by women clergy.

The lives of clergywomen afford a unique opportunity to consider work and family life. For one thing, it has been one of the most resistant occupations to women's inclusion, at least in certain denominations. Secondly, the sexuality implied and evident in pregnancy, birth and lactation and the issues of creativity, intimacy, power and powerlessness that mothering evokes for many people are particularly sensitive or threatening issues when combined with the "sacred." It is, to borrow a phrase used by one of my participants, "nervous-making" for many and strikes to the heart of Western culture's dualism, a dualism perpetuated in large part by the Christian churches.

Mothering is very much about bodies. Holiness has often been viewed (erroneously, I think) as disembodied. Male clergy

were able to pull the split off a bit better by thrusting sexuality on women and, perhaps unintentionally, ascribing a bit of divinity for themselves (with concomitant costs of unreasonable expectations upon themselves and their families). And, in yet another twist, they often became "male mothers," endlessly and unselfishly giving of themselves with no thought for their own needs. Even the terms in the higher Christian churches, the term for the clergyman is "father" and the Roman church is referred to as "Holy Mother Church."

A third, and unique, set of considerations include the very real difficulties of family life for both male and female clergy, the diffusion of public/private boundaries, and the very real similarity between the function of a clergyperson and a parent, at least with regard to expectations. These factors combined to make this population an ideal group for research on work and family issues.

Finally, there has been very little research on these issues of work and family as they pertain to female clergy.

The significance of the study, however, is in providing knowledge about and support for women (and men) like those represented by the wonderful, wise, wholly strong and sensitive individuals I met in this research process. I doubt that anyone ever had more fun doing research, or at least ever got as much out of it personally. I would very much like to reciprocate the gift by

letting male and female priests, ministers and rabbis know what experiences they hold in common and what is unique, as a source of support. I would also like the laity to be more aware and supportive of their ordained leaders and the families of clergy, because other research besides my own has shown that this is a growing area of concern. And, I would like them to recognize the gifts of their priests, ministers and rabbis and develop their own leadership abilities in complementary fashion.

Finally, as was the original intent of the study, I hope that what is learned from the words and stories of the women I interviewed will help us transform the ways we see and deal with all working women and their families. For, if we can imagine how such experience helps us access the sacred, then we ought to be able to value it in the more mundane aspects of our existence together.

Statement of the Problem

A growing literature on the work-family system has demonstrated the interrelationship between these two supposedly separate spheres. Much of this research has emphasized the stress and role strain for those holding both high career and family expectations. A more recent trend has been to balance the examination of these realities with an evaluation of the positive influences of these demands in the development of women's sense of self-esteem, ways of knowing, efficacy and sense of contribution to the world (Belenky, 1986; Bateson, 1989).

The work of the clergy has been described by sociologists (Kanter, 1977) and therapists (Friedman, 1985) as a career with diffuse boundaries between home and work, high role absorption and intense personal and professional demands. Much of the research in this area has focused upon male clergy and the effects of their profession on their wives (Denton, 1961; Hartley, 1978; Wynn, 1960). Some research on work and family systems in religious professions is emerging out of the dual-career line of inquiry (Kieren, 1988). Often, research on women clergy focuses upon the issue of ordination (Huyck, 1981) or upon their theological perspectives (Rhodes, 1987, 1983).

There is a need to further explore the issues of work-family systems within specific professions. As a career still fairly new for women in many denominations, and as one marked by the characteristics described above, clergy roles for women offer a unique area for research.

Additionally, there is a clear need for more information and greater understanding of the needs and contributions of women in clerical leadership positions in church and synagogue, a need evidenced by the paucity of available research done to date in this area.

Through an intensive, in-depth interview process with clergywomen, the research described in this dissertation attempts to fill some of these gaps by providing information and insight into

the experience and meaning-making systems that women have acquired concerning their work-family systems.

The following questions were the starting point for this research, and represent the nature of the inquiry which was further developed in the interview schedule described in the methodology.

By engaging in this research, I hoped to increase the available knowledge and perspectives on the following questions.

1. How do these women construct their experience of their work-family systems?
2. Are the roles involved in work and family mutually reinforcing or do they present competing demands?
3. What are the life "stressors" and "enhancers" in the work-family system of clergywomen?
4. What is the nature of the balance like between these stressors and enhancers?
5. What meaning do women make out of their experience? Does their meaning-making system, in turn, influence how they view stress and enhancement, strain and support?

Extent of the Study

As stated above, the particular focus of this research is the mutual and reciprocal influence of the career and family aspects of the lives of women ministers, priests and rabbis.

The general scope of this study, both in terms of the literature review and in the design and analysis of the actual

research, is to provide some insight into the following questions: (1) what is the actual experience of women who work outside the home in terms of their professional and familial responsibilities; (2) what do women find particularly stressful when trying to meet these multiple demands; (3) what do women find particularly rewarding in their dual aspects of their identity; (4) how do issues of power and authority operate both within the family and in the professional realm; (5) how does the expression of nurturance reveal itself in both domains; (6) where are there areas of mutual influence and reciprocity; and, finally, (7) how do women construe meaning out of these aspects of their lives for themselves?

Limitations

There are many limitations of this study in terms of design, selection and exclusion of participants, choice of research questions and decisions and outcomes regarding the areas of data to select for analysis.

First of all, a qualitative study lacks the precision and pointed focus that can be achieved in quantitative designs. On the other hand, it provides rich and extensive coverage of the research question, which is particularly appropriate for an exploratory study such as this.

Second, this study is not representative of all women clergy and certainly not of all denominations. Although I have sought

variety in terms of religious affiliations, there are many groups who are not represented and the women do not speak for their churches, nor necessarily represent the most typical stance on a given issue. The women are very diverse, not only in the dimensions that I mention in the participant description section, but also in terms of theological and political bents. Only a few of these women, for example, would describe themselves as "feminist," yet that label might or might not correspond at all to the responses given. One of the surprising discoveries of this research was that the answers I received on given questions did not correspond to what I might have expected to be the opinion of a person from a particular religious persuasion.

A third issue is that this is a small sample in a limited geographical area and one that is known to be more "liberal" than many other regions of the country.

A fourth and very important point is that, in choosing to do research about women's experiences, I am making no claim that this is necessarily the same, different or in contrast to men's experiences. Much of the classic research literature in human development (Levinson, McClelland, Erikson and Kohlberg's, for example) used only male participants, and the findings were often discussed and understood by others as if they applied to both men and women. Later, women scholars such as Daniels, Horner and Gilligan have challenged the assumptions and omissions of such

research. I have chosen to start with women, and I hope later research will explore what these questions may mean for men.

Finally, another set of limitations in this study concerns the fact that all of the women who participated in it are white, heterosexual, able-bodied and middle-class in terms of educational and cultural factors, if not income. I made no decisions beforehand regarding sexual orientation or ability issues. My criteria, as explained in the "Participants" section, was formal ordination and having had at least one child. This was because I wanted to focus on the childrearing responsibilities of family rather than the couple relationships. Thus, the sample might have included a lesbian mother, but, to my knowledge, did not. Ability/disability issues were neither included or excluded. As far as I know, the participants did not have any known physical or mental disabilities.

Race was an issue I did consider, but did not seek out as a conscious dimension of this research. This was not exclusionary. I was aware that a "token" conscious attempt to include women of color in this study would do no justice to the unique experiences that Asian, Latino, Native American and particularly African American women have.

These experiences include those of the church, which can either be the chief source of justification for oppression or the source of spiritual, political and communal strength, and those of the family, where work and family issues have never been afforded

the luxury of the personal dichotomy between them described in much the theoretical and analytical literature I review.

As I originally intended to include women of different races, as other voices rather than for numerical significance, I began reading a bit of the feminist and womanist theological literature in the field. This includes such powerful books as Sex, Race and God: Christian Feminism in Black and White (Thistlewaite, 1989); Inheriting Our Mother's Gardens: Feminist Theory in Third World Perspective (Russell, Kwok, Isasi-Diaz and Canon, 1988); Black Womanist Ethics (Cannon, 1988); selections from God's Fierce Whimsy: Christian Feminism and Theological Education ("Mud Flower Collective"); and selections from Carol Christ's Diving Deep and Surfacing: Woman Writers on Spiritual Quest.

These readings, in addition to conversations with women of color, revealed so many different dimensions to the questions under consideration that I decided to limit the study to white women at this time, the better to understand the group of women with whom I shared at least the common experience of race, before moving more deeply into differences. Given the rich heritage of spirituality in these traditions, and women of colors' place economically and socially, this is an area of research that definitely needs to be done.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Work-Family System

I have used the term "work-family system" to convey the wholeness, the systemic nature, the "seamless garment" of the life experience of women whose work encompasses both family life and paid employment. The use of this term is meant to correct some of the errors of perception that arose from the earlier construct or the "myth of separate worlds." This myth, as Kanter (1977) describes it, is the view that work and family life "constitute two separate and non-overlapping worlds with their own functions, territories and behavioral rules" (p. 8).

The assumptions that emerge from such a world view contribute to increased stress on the family system and continued discrimination in employment, and they factor into our failure to generate an adequate family policy in this country.

Alternative perspectives on how work and family or career and parenthood interface can be derived from family systems theory, Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development, the "women's voice" literature of Carol Gilligan and her students, as well as the "women's ways of knowing" research of Mary Field Belenky

and colleagues. There are also other constructivist approaches to human development, such as Robert Kegan's.

A consideration of these different perspectives may mean that questions concerning adult and child development, personal, career and family counseling, and social and economic policies could be reframed from a dualistic either/or posture to a more inclusive concern for maximizing healthy human development.

In terms of strategic family therapy, "the goals . . . are primarily to prevent the repetition of sequences and to introduce more complexity and alternatives" (Madenes, 1981, p. 21).

The focus of the literature reviewed in this section is the work-family system, primarily from the woman's point of view. I have chosen this focus because it is still women, primarily, who struggle with composing a meaning-making system out of their experience and conflicts in encountering the "myth of separate worlds."

Furthermore, inequalities between men and women in both the workplace and the home reinforce one another. As Susan Moller Okin (1989) states, "A cycle of power relations and decisions pervades both family and workplace, and the inequalities of each reinforce those that already exist in the other" (p. 147). In addition, ecological as well as "women's voice" literature are also reviewed as a means of presenting other models for considering work and the family.

What follows, then, is a consideration of these perspectives.

The "Myth of Separate Worlds"

The current situation in a modern industrial society such as ours reflects a structure where rigid boundaries are defined as appropriately existing between the allegedly separate and autonomous worlds of work and family. Such rigidity does not characterize other types of societies, and historically is of recent origin. The rigidity of these boundaries was described by Kanter as "the myth of the separate worlds," as cited above. As she goes on to say, this myth suggests that each of these spheres is seen as operating according to its own laws and each can be studied independently. The entrance of events or decisions from one world to another is seen as an external or extraneous variable, and not as an intrinsic part of it (Kanter, 1977a, p. 8).

Modern organizations deal with this myth by giving their members the following injunction: "While you are here, you will act as though you have no other loyalties, no other life" (Kanter, 1977a, p. 15). This "act as though" principal is reinforced by another social myth, that of individual achievement. It is also, I believe, part of a much larger paradigm which has produced other rigid boundaries; namely, it is the result of the sexual division of labor and the economic and social arrangements which derived from it.

Several feminist writers (Mitchell, Rubins, Ortner, Sacks, Hartman, Kuhn, Beechy and Chodorow) have discussed a number of other splits which have arisen from the sexual division of labor, including myths about the qualities of imminence versus transcendence, nature versus technology, domestic versus wage labor, family versus economy, and the private world versus the public. In each instance, the first category is associated with females and the second with males.

Economic and Social Origins of the Public/Private Split in Work and Family Life

Although poor and working-class women, as well as women of color of all classes, have a longer history of working outside the home than other female segments of society, the majority of women in our culture since industrialization have worked within the home after childbirth, except in times of national crisis (World War II). This picture has radically changed, particularly in the past two decades.

As of March 1984, 6.2 million women with children under six years of age (spouse present), and 1.8 million women with children the same age (no spouse present) were in the labor force (Newsweek, September 10, 1984). The total percentage of mothers employed outside the home has increased from 40% in 1970 to 60% as of 1983. In the category of married mothers with children under age six, the

percentage rate rose during those same years from 30% to 50%. Based on 1983 statistics, 53% of children in two-parent families had working mothers, including 40% of children aged five and under. Most of these employed mothers (70% with school-aged children and 62% with pre-school-aged children) had full-time positions (Kamerman, 1983). Additionally, one child in five is in a single-parent home (Mortimer, 1982).

These rates of labor force participation contrast sharply with those prior to World War II, when only one of twelve women with children was found in the labor force (Hoffman, 1974).

The very term "work" needs further elaboration. "Work," in the sense that I am using it here, refers to wage labor performed outside the home. This is not meant to invalidate the very real labor done primarily by women in the home. It is only meant to give us a starting place from which to discuss the work-family system. (Of course, the use of the term in this way perpetuates the problem.)

Marxist economists use the term "exchange value" for wage labor and "use value" for the work generated in the domestic sphere. Both are necessary to "reproduce the labor force" from day to day and from generation to generation. When the costs of production of the product plus the costs of reproduction of the workers are subtracted from the total value produced, the remainder is what is referred to as "surplus value" (Rubin, 1975, and Sacks, 1975).

Both Gayle Rubin and Annette Kuhn provide explanations of the part women's domestic work plays in the generation of surplus value.

> The capitalist gets back the cost of the wage plus an increment-surplus value. This can occur because the wage is determined not by the value of what the laborer makes, but by the value of what it takes to keep him or her going, to reproduce the entire work force from one generation to the next. Thus, surplus value is the difference between what the laboring class produces as a whole, and the amount of that total which is recycled into the laboring class. (Rubin, 1975, p. 161.)

> Because the wage appears to be a payment solely for labor performed outside the home, it conceals the fact that labor power, the source of surplus value, is a commodity whose value must be the cost of its production and reproduction. Since the production and reproduction of labor power takes place substantially within the family through the labor of the housewife, then it is clear that her labor is in one way or another crucial to the generation of surplus value. (Kuhn, 1978, p. 56.)

Besides separation from the world of production in the earlier eras of industrialization because of their isolation in the family, women's work was either entirely out of the exchange system or, when included, restricted to extensions of the family role. In either case, it has been devalued. Women's labor in the family was confined to "use" values, while men's labor in the market or factory was based on "exchange value." Kuhn discussed the meaning of these economic terms for women.

> The distinction between the production of use values and exchange values is concretized in two separate sets of relations of production: those of the family and those of the factory. The sexual division of labor takes on specifically capitalist social relations in being overdetermined by the separation of work and home. Indeed, the very formulation of "work and home" only becomes possible in capitalism, signifying as it does a qualitatively new kind of distinction between the production of use values (by domestic labour) and the production of exchange values (through wage labour). The latter comes to be exclusively defined as work, partly because of the exchange value commodities produced but crucially and importantly in capitalism because the work is performed in exchange for a wage. Labour in the household--domestic labour--remains the province of women, although at the same time women of the proletarian classes are drawn into commodity production. (Kuhn, p. 53.)

Ortner, an anthropologist, sees the emphasis on exchange as developing with the rule of exogomy, which can be translated as exogomy = exchange = society. In this system, women are associated with the particularistic, i.e., family, while men are associated with the universal through inter-family exchange and the creation of society (Ortner, 1974, p. 78).

Rubin expresses the division of labor in the following terms.

> Once such a dichotomy is made--women in domestic work force for family use, men in social production for exchange--there is an organizational basis for a sexual divide and rule policy. . . . The effect . . . has been to converge differences between men and women in terms of their roles in production into differential worth. Through their labor men are social adults; women are domestic wards. (Rubin, 1975, p. 192.)

Frequently, women who enter the labor force still find employment in fields that are extensions of the family role.

Sacks provides an economic and social analysis of the dual burden of the woman employed outside the house.

> The distinction between production for use and production for exchange places a heavy burden on women to maintain themselves as well as exchange workers and to rear future exchange and maintenance workers. In this context, wage work (or social labour) becomes an additional burden and in no way changes women's responsibility for domestic work. For full social equality, men's and women's work must be of the same kind: the production of social use values. For this to happen, family and society cannot remain separate spheres of life. Production, consumption, child-rearing and economic decision-making need to take place in a single social sphere. . . . What is not private family work must become public work for women to become fully social adults. (Sacks, 1975, p. 234.)

Jane Flax, a feminist writer concerned with existing inequities and the need for transforming change, outlines the tasks of the women's movement and challenges the existing realities in the splits between the spheres of family and work.

> The women's liberation movement is facing an awesome task. The split between nurturance and autonomy is carried by all of us as one of those archaic residues in the unconscious. The split is reinforced by powerful social forces such as the organization of production and reproduction. In order for women to become whole people, every social structure will have to be transformed. . . . Indeed, the consequences of narrow solutions may be to diminish women's power. For example, women work both inside and outside the home without necessitating changes in men's relationships to children and without the creation of adequate childcare facilities.
>
> Women may be forgiven a temporary failure of nerve in the face of the terrifying array of tasks ahead of us. The integration of work and play; new arrangements for human intimacy and childcare; development of a technology that works with rather than exploits mother earth; the freeing of men from

> mastery and ourselves from participation in it; the integration of mind and body, feeling and thought, all lie before us. How ironic that, in order to overcome the conflicts and ambivalence of the mother-daughter bond, we must take on the most traditional role of all: the recreation of life itself. (Flax, 1978, p. 187.)

Diane Ehrensaft (1980) discusses the fundamental issues of parenting and power and the psychological division of labor in the family as well as the ways in which men and women view the world of work and family. For men, home becomes a domestic retreat while, for women, the world of work belongs to males. The costs of shared parenting need to be understood as well, since this would cut into a man's time and energy for competition in work with other men, and a woman needs to face the political reality that without corresponding changes in the world of work she will be "giving up power in the domestic sphere, historically her domain, with little compensation from increased power in the public sphere. . . . When push comes to shove she is only a working mother" (Ehrensaft, 1980, p. 49.)

Evidence of the Permeability of Boundaries Defining These Spheres

Although our society operates on the assumption of rigid boundaries between the spheres of work and family, there are several examples of ways in which one "world" impinges on the other. The first direction is from work to family, and there is a growing body of literature which addresses this type of permeability. These

include such concepts as work-family linkage, occupational absorption, occupational culture, time and timing, rewards, occupational culture and the occupational climate of work.

Bailyn (1978) describes one work-family linkage as that of "accommodation" or the "degree to which work requirements are fitted into family requirements" (p. 58). Patterns of accommodation reflect "work links" of the wife, husband and the family system as a whole. Work links include the worker's orientation to the job content, organizational reactions and relations to co-workers. Family links include relations to spouse, children, parents and the community in which they are involved. All of these linkages need to be coordinated in a consistent pattern. Bailyn found families to establish "traditional," or equal sharing patterns.

Traditional patterns include differential distributions of work and family responsibilities, with one spouse more accommodative to family needs and the other less. Equal sharing patterns were highly complex and carried the potential of role overload and role strain. Pleck (1981) has noted that this is particularly true for women. As women enter the labor force, the husband's paid work is somewhat decreased (by about 0.6 to 1.5 hours a day), due to a lessened need for overtime or a second job. As Pleck states,

> . . . as women's rates of labor force participation continue to increase, a set transfer of labor is occurring in our society--away from men and toward women . . . the reality of the

> present and near future is that many employed women will experience substantial role overload, in part--unfortunately--to make possible increased leisure time for men (p. 243).

More recent research by Pleck evidenced a very slight increase in the amount of time husbands of working women spent in housework and childcare. Pleck views this as a sign of a beginning shift in this pattern.

In addition to the additional strains on women, the "equal sharing" pattern can have profound effects on the whole family system. Full-time careers on the part of both parents may be found to be incompatible when there are young children involved.

> Excessive work-time--the need to work nights and weekends, the travel requirements, the mobility expectations and opportunities, and the intrinsically rewarding character of careers all represent "centrifugal forces" pulling each spouse away from the family (Combrinck-Graham, p. 31).

In families with infants and young children, these excessive centrifugal forces may be out of balance with the central demands of early family life stages.

As a way of decreasing the enormous complexity of both work and family demands peaking in dual-career families with young children, Bailyn identifies three accommodative patterns: limitations of one's involvement in both areas; "recycling," or staggering events in the adult life cycle so that demands from both areas do not peak at once; and segmentation or even more stringent boundaries between home and work.

Another work-family linkage identified by Kanter (1977a) is "occupational absorption," which she defines as:

> . . . occupational pursuits that not only demand the maximum commitment from the worker and define the context for family life, but also implicate other family members and command their direct participation in the work system in either its formal or informal aspects.
>
> Sometimes the occupation creates high identification in the workers and demands activities that spill over beyond the work day, into "leisure," or private life, such as the press toward community involvement for executives. Sometimes the nature of the occupation demands the participation of other family members, giving them job-related tasks to perform; sometimes it structures norms and role expectations for other family members. In any case, work effectiveness bears some relation to total family effort, and family life is dominated by work in absorptive occupations. (Kanter, p. 26.)

Occupations which involve a great deal of absorption include high-level executives, those running for major political office, military officers, headmasters in private schools, the clergy, professors, farming and hotel and restaurant owners/managers. These occupations differ somewhat in quantitative versus qualitative absorption.

The next dimension to consider is "occupational culture," or the ways in which occupations shape a characteristic outlook on the world, a set of values and particular ways of behaving which derive from the nature of the work involved. In Marxist terms, the material conditions of production shape consciousness. As Kanter states,

> Occupations are important socializers and teachers of values, especially those like the professions that come to constitute "communities," with shared normative standards for conduct, even outside of work. (Kanter, p. 42.)

Still, most of this literature on occupational absorption and occupational culture focuses upon the father's role. The most well-known research on the effects of occupational culture upon the family deals with the effects of father's occupation on family values and childrearing practices. The work of Melvin Kohn is some of the best-known research in this area.

Kohn (1979) has done extensive research on how parents of differing social classes raise their children. Differences in values which seem to be related to differences in working conditions appear between middle- and working-class samples. Miller and Swanson (1958, as cited in Kanter, 1977, p. 42), on the other hand, attribute these to differences between entrepreneurial and bureaucratic employment situations, regardless of class position.

Kohn argued that parents acted in accordance with their stated values in terms of disciplinary practice and the provision of emotional support and constraint for their children. He claimed that parents in both middle- and working-class families acted on the basis of long-range goals, but that these goals differed. For the middle class, he saw primary goals relating to self-direction, while for the working class conformity to external authority was the desired norm.

Kohn relates these values to the condition of parental employment, specifically paternal employment. His hypothesis is that class-related differences in people's opportunities to exercise control and self-direction at work is related to valuing self-direction on, as well as off, the job. Three working conditions, in particular, have been found to affect the level of occupational self-direction: (1) the degree of close supervision; (2) the degree of routinization; and (3) the degree of substantive complexity.

It is the last condition, in particular, the degree of substantive complexity, or "the degree to which performance of the work requires thought and independent judgment," that was found to be the most important determinant of self-direction. Further research indicated that it was the work itself that structured the preference for self-direction, and that substantive complexity positively influenced intellectual flexibility. Over time, this process was found to be reciprocal. Intellectual flexibility was found to be intimately related to the value placed on self-direction, and is "an important link between social class and parents' valuation of self-direction or conformity to external authority" (Kohn, 19 , p. 131).

In a study of work-family interface and marital change in sixty-seven couples during the transition to parenthood, Jay Belsky, Ann Crouter and Maureen Perry-Jenkins (1985) found evidence that

there is a bidirectional influence between family and work. Especially during the transition to parenthood, workplace tensions have detrimental effects on marriage.

The implications of Kohn's and the above authors' research have potentially far-reaching effects. If programs such as job enrichment, quality circles and workplace democracy were to become widespread, the results could affect adult cognitive and affective development, as well as family styles and childrearing practices. As we come to understand more about the nature of the work-family interface, we may also be able to identify ways to reduce or redefine those aspects of work or family life which negatively affect the other sphere, while supporting those elements which lead to positive influences.

Finding such as these again provide a substantial challenge to the myth of separate worlds.

Another aspect of work and family linkage is that of time and timing. This concept refers to the degree of time that work involves, as well as to when it occurs and how this fits into, or fails to fit into, family needs.

Rewards are yet another and fairly obvious type of work-family linkage. Rewards include money and the status and prestige that accrue to the family as well as to the worker.

Kanter (1977) defines another work-family linkage as that of the emotional climate of work.

> This is the way workers come to feel about themselves and their day, the degree of self-esteem or self-doubt they feel and the sense of well-being or tension which they bring home. There is some evidence, for example, that workers in low-autonomy jobs are more severe and hostile as parents (p. 117).

As mentioned above, families in turn influence the sphere of work in significant ways. This area has been far less researched than the former direction of influence and it is more recent.

Mortimer and London (1984) discuss some of the effects that families have on work. Families socialize the next generation of workers. They have a major influence on the level of occupational attainment and even the career choices of their members. Additionally, changes in family organization influence the conditions under which employees are willing and able to work. For example, with the rise of the two-career family, job transfers for one spouse are less likely to be acceptable to the family.

Ann Crouter has done research on this neglected side of family to work influence which she describes as "spillover." Her research among industrial workers revealed two variables which were particularly salient, "negative spillover from family to work," which was an index of the frequency with which workers identified family issues as decreasing their satisfaction with their

employment, and "positive spillover from family to work," which was a measure of ways in which family life was seen to "support, facilitate or enhance work life" (Crouter, 1984, p. 430).

Examples of positive spillover included family support and the ability to use useful skills, attitudes and behaviors learned at home on the job. Several workers indicated that having a family made them more understanding of other people, and had improved their interpersonal skills. Men more than women were likely to identify the support and understanding of their families as facilitative of positive work performance.

Naimark and Pearce (1985) examined the transfer of skills between work and family, and concluded that this transfer is a two-way process.

> Skills such as nurturing, affiliating and mentoring--which emerge naturally in the family--could increase the effectiveness of managers or make more efficient the division of task responsibilities in the workplace.

These authors go on to suggest that, first, we muse recognize that such transferability is possible.

> The current challenge is to recognize that transferring skills between our personal lives and the workplace is possible. In fact, once the learner develops a degree of facility using a skill in a new arena, s/he will discover some immediate rewards. Not only might there be increased job satisfaction, or better family relations, there might also be a narrowing of the family/workplace gap that many people experience as a result of trying to combine these two important life roles. Perhaps the most exciting possibility is that those who apply transferable

> skills with their families and their co-workers will experience a new feeling of control and enhanced sense of self-worth. (Naimark and Pearce, 1985, p. 52.)

On the negative side, issues of childcare, sick children and familial conflict were most likely to have negative spillover effect in terms of increased worry, distraction and inability to take certain assignments. In this case, it was women who typically reported these problems.

Crouter then developed an index of "balance of spillover" by subtracting negative from positive spillover. Using this index, she found that,

> Fathers, regardless of their family life stage, report about as much positive as negative spillover. In contrast, mothers of children under twelve report significantly more negative than positive spillover. (Crouter, 1984, p. 435.)

However, when it came to parents of adolescents, the pattern for mothers and fathers was the same. Crouter sees the data as supporting her position that spillover is not a gender issue, per se, but is rather a function of family roles and responsibilities, which in turn are based on gender, and also as a function of the family's stage in the family life cycle.

> The data reported in this paper suggest that women with young children . . . are "at risk" for perceiving the impacts of family upon work as generally negative, primarily because their familiy responsibilities at times result in their being absent, tardy, inattentive, inefficient, or unable to accept more responsibilities at work. This pattern seems to diminish for

> women with older children, suggesting that family to work influences are closely linked to stages of the family life cycle and the changing nature of the maternal role. (Crouter, 1984, p. 436.)

Other research, such as that of Bohen and Veveros-Long (1981) on the helpfulness of flexitime, found that this policy was less important to how people distributed their work and family time than were sex-role expectations and work expectations at both the personal and organizational levels.

Crouter recommends that further research be done to differentiate different types of family to work spillover, specifically educational and psychological spillover.

Psychological spillover is more transitory and includes the ways that one's family affects a person's energy level, attention, mood, etc. We also need more research on the ways in which different individuals respond to such stress, be it with less or more work involvement.

Educational spillover refers to the process of transferring something one has learned at home, such as a skill, attitude, perspective or behavior, to the workplace.

> This type of family to work spillover represents a promising domain for developmental psychologists, particularly those interested in adult development as it occurs in naturally occurring contexts. Although psychologists have conceptualized the family as an "educator" (Leichter, 1974), it is usually as an educational setting for children, not for adults. We need to know more about what adults learn in the course of becoming

> parents, developing a marital relationship, and managing a household and how this learning, in turn, is generalized to other roles and settings. (Crouter, 1984, p. 439.)

Crouter also recommends researching and evaluating the oft-suggested family policy recommendations of employee-sponsored childcare support, flexitime and flexiplace, job-sharing, part-time employment, cafeteria benefits and family leaves in terms of their effects on the family and the workplace, to see if they actually do enable employees to handle family responsibilities more smoothly.

The review of work-family linkages in this section is still fairly limited and remains too weighted in the direction of work to family, yet it provides adequate justification for the negation of the myth of separate worlds and challenges the rigidity of such boundaries.

Alternative Paradigms for a Consideration of the Work-Family System

Having challenged this way of conceptualizing the relationship between work and family, I would now like to briefly review two other paradigms which I think have a great deal of potential for our understanding of the interactive nature of such systems as work and family.

Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) has developed a model of ecological human development which is systemic and which provides an interactive way to look at the relationship of the family and larger

systems. In Bronfenbrenner's model, the process of human development is seen in the context of several nested spheres of relationship.

> The Ecology of Human Development involves scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate setting in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which these settings are embedded (Bronfenbrenner, p. 21).

Within this ecological system there are four components, or subsystems, which are "nested" within one another.

Let us consider the family's relationship to work in this model in a family with a young child, and use Bronfenbrenner's definitions of the various systems contained in this model. At the center of this model is the developing person--in this case, a young child. The child is embedded in the first level of systems--the microsystem--in this case, the family. Bronfenbrenner defines the microsystem as follows:

> Microsystem: a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations, experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics (p. 22).

or,

> . . . the connections between other persons present in the setting, the nature of these links, and their indirect influence on the developing person through their effect on those who deal with him first hand (p. 7).

As the child begins to engage in other social settings (which are also microsystems), such as a daycare program or preschool, an interaction with developmental consequences for the child begins to develop between these settings. This level of system is called the mesosystem, and is defined as follows.

> Mesosystem: a set of interrelations between two or more settings in which the developing person becomes an active participant (p. 209).

If a child's family is actively involved in the provision of substitute care, and both the daycare program staff or substitute care provider are in regular and qualitative communication, then a mesosystem exists which can be seen as furthering the child's development.

Furthermore, the child's development, as well as that of his or her parents, will be hindered or helped, but nevertheless affected, by what transpires within those spheres of activity in which the child does not participate but his or her parents do. The most significant of these spheres, given the focus of this paper, is the exosystem level. In this example, this would include the world of work. Bronfenbrenner defines the exosystem in this way.

> Exosystem: [consists] of one or more settings which do not involve the developing person as an active participant but in which events occur that are affected by what happens in that setting (p. 237).

Again, Kohn's research on occupational and class characteristics of a father and their effects on childrearing is an example of this type of interface or interaction.

Finally, all of these subsystems are affected by the overarching and permeating characteristics of the culture or subculture in which they are embedded. This larger system is referred to as the macrosystem. The nature of the macrosystem is such that any daycare center in, say, France or China, will resemble one another more than any one would resemble one in the United States. As Bronfenbrenner states, "It is as if in each country the various settings had been constructed from the same set of blueprints" (p. 26). Bronfenbrenner's definition of the macrosystem is as follows.

> Macrosystem: refers to consistencies in the form and content of lower-order systems (micro-, meso- and exo-) that exist or could exist, at the level of the sub-culture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems of ideology underlying such consistencies (p. 26).

The inclusion of the phrase "or could exist" is particularly interesting, for it implies that, even as we contemplate social change in our culture, the form that change will take derives from current forms and would be unique to each other. Bronfenbrenner comments on this inclusion.

> I deliberately mention in the definition of the macrosystem patterns that "could exist" so as to expand the concept of macrosystem beyond limitation to the status quo to encompass

> possible blue prints for the future as reflected in the vision of a society's political leaders, social planners, philosophers, and social scientists engaging in critical analysis and experimental alteration of prevailing social systems (p. 26).

Just as the "developing person" does not remain in a static state, but is usually involved in some form of homeostasis and change which represents development, so, too, these larger systems are also "developing." Again, a quote from Bronfenbrenner.

> To place Luria's thesis in the context of our conceptual framework, the macrosystem also undergoes a process of development and in doing so lends movement to all its component systems down to the level of the person. Thus, the members of a changing society necessarily experience developmental change at every psychic level--intellectual, emotional and social.
>
> Luria's conception of social change and human development represents a kind of analogue, in the science of human development, of Einstein's relativity principle in physics. Just as Einstein shattered the Newtonian view of motion as departure from a fixed reference point, so Luria requires us to conceive of individual development as occurring within a dynamic environmental system. To corrupt a metaphor from Einstein's explanation of his Special Relativity Theory: development takes place in a moving train in what we may call the "moving macrosystem" (p. 265).

In another example of macrosystemic influences, Bronfenbrenner discussed the long-range and varied effects of parental unemployment during the Depression on subsequent generations, as documented by Glen Elder.

> Surely the most spectacular outcome of Elder's work is his demonstration that events in one setting extend their influence on a person's competence and relations with others in quite

> another setting decades later. Just as Luria recognized the crucial significance of the time dimension for the macrosystem, so Elder demonstrates the temporal elongation of exosystem and mesosystem connections. Experiences in one setting carry over into other settings, often over extended periods of time (p. 284).

This leads into Bronfenbrenner's hypothesis that states as follows.

> The developmental potential of a setting is a function of the extent to which the roles, activities, and relations occurring in that setting serve, over a period of time, to set in motion and sustain patterns of motivation and activity in the developing person that then acquire a momentum of their own. As a result, when that person enters a new setting, the pattern is carried over and, in the absence of counterforces, becomes magnified in scope and intensity. Macrosystems that exhibit these properties and effects are referred to as primary settings; and persistent patterns of motivation and activity that they induce in the individual are called developmental trajectories (p. 285).

The implications of the work-family system in terms of this hypothesis are suggested by Bronfenbrenner.

> The most pervasive and potent primary settings in human societies are, of course, the family and the workplace, although the power of the latter to generate what I have called developmental trajectories is only now being demonstrated systematically, principally through the work of Kohn (p. 285).

Given the enormous increase in labor force participation of women with young children (ecosystem exchange), and the resultant increase in substitute care arrangements (mesosystem change), one

example of interacting systems is that of daycare. Bronfenbrenner considers this a critical area for change in all of these systems.

> Few investigators have examined or even recognized the possibility that the development of other persons besides children can be affected in important ways by the nature of such care arrangements. Parents are, of course, most likely to be influenced not only by their child rearing roles, but also in their work, spare time activities and many other aspects of their lives. Again from an ecological viewpoint I suggest that the impact of day care and preschool on the nation's families and on the society at large may have more profound consequences than any direct effects for the development of human beings in modern industrial societies (p. 165).

A second model or approach to viewing the work-family interface from a different and systemic paradigm is to consider the model of ecological family assessment in the method of "Ecomapping." This method, developed by Ann Hartman (1979) to assist social workers assess the strengths and needs of prospective adoptive families, has been increasingly used in a number of family therapy assessments by practitioners (Holman, 1983; Brassard, 1986). It also has great potential as a research tool.

As a method of diagramming the family's place in the social network, an ecomap provides a visual overview of a family's organizational pattern, relationships and connections in a social ecological system. The family and its members are drawn as a genogram in the center sphere, and blank circles are drawn around it, to be filled in during the interview. These other spheres might include work, school, daycare, church, friends, extended family, recreation and community agencies, among others. Connections

between the family and these other spheres are drawn by lines defined as tenuous, strong and stressful. (It might be wise to add another for "supportive.") Arrows are used to indicate the flow of energy and resources.

Looking at this information as it is mapped out allows one to see a given family's pattern of stress and support, directionality of energy flow and balance of needs and resources. It is also another and concrete example from any given family that these spheres in an ecosystem are anything but separate.

New Perspectives from the "Women's Way of Knowing" and "Different Voice" Literature

A new and promising area of research in considering the work-family interface is that which comes from listening to the voices of women themselves as they construct the meaning of their lives from their experiences in families and in the sphere of work. Several research projects have derived from Carol Gilligan's research on moral development and decision-making in women, most notably presented in A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development (1982). Gilligan's research indicates that women consider moral dilemmas and decisions from a connected "relationship" point of view, in contrast to the more acknowledged individualistic "justice" orientation of the men Kolberg studied.

One of the contributions this type of literature makes to the work-family system research is to balance current cultural

prescriptions for the "working mother" with images of women who define these issues in "their own terms."

Often, the prescription for mothers who work outside the home is to engage in the work overload and role strain efforts of the "supermom" career mother. Too often, the decisions and dilemmas about family and work responsibilities with which women grapple are framed in the success and achievement language of male career development.

Ann Willard, a graduate student of Gilligan's, conducted research on the viewpoints and voices of women who are mothers of young children, and who are facing decisions about employment outside the house. In an article based on her dissertation research, entitled "Cultural Scripts for Mothering" (1989), she presents some of the recent career advice offered such women.

> Harragan, a business consultant and author of the book Games Mother Never Taught You, sympathizes with companies that are losing experienced and productive female employees for any amount of time.
>
> "I hear stories of women who become pregnant and don't feel very well and so don't work very hard. They go off on maternity leave for weeks or even months. That can be hard for the organization."
>
> Harragan says she recommends that women not take the full allowable leave time. The really ambitious, committed women get back between two weeks to one month. (Wall Street Journal, September 19, 1984.)
>
> Such advice assures that what is good for the company is good for a woman's career and, thus, is best for her. (Willard, 1989, p. 230.)

Contrast this advice with that of T. Berry Brazelton in a recent interview with Bill Moyers.

> What we're missing is that people who aren't participating in the marvelous miracle of having a baby and raising that baby in the first few months and feeling that baby look back at them and saying, "Hey, she's looking at me, she's smiling at me," don't ever reach another level of development themselves. So, I really believe both parents ought to be very involved with their babies and their small children. I hope any mother realizes that staying home the first year is like giving a big gift to your child. But I don't think the first year is even a possibility in this country any longer, because, financially, we've stressed people beyond that. Psychologically, women are really too torn right now to feel comfortable or happy about staying home for the first year. And most people don't have that choice. (Brazelton, 1989a.)

The first quote ignores the human and family developmental potential of becoming a parent. With its emphasis on individualistic achievement, Harragan's advice accords with the preferred adult male developmental model, unquestioned until recently. What Gilligan, her colleagues and students have done is to call these values into question, and to question those who see women's involvement in the work of caring as passive and self-negating.

> The inclusion of women's experience dispels the view of care as selfless and passive and reveals the activities that constitute care and lead to responsiveness in human relationships. In studies conducted by myself and my students, women who defined themselves in their own terms--as indicated by the use of active first person constructions--generally articulated the value of care and affirmed their own relational concerns. In thinking about choices in their lives, these women were able to adopt a

> critical perspective on societal values of separation and independence and to reject confusing images of women as "supermother" or "superwoman" that are at odds with women's knowledge about relationships and about themselves. Women's ability to act on this knowledge was associated in several doctoral dissertations with invulnerability to eating disorders, recovery from depression, and the absence of depressive symptoms in the mothers of young children. But if my characterization is accurate there is no question that this knowledge brings women into conflict with current societal arrangements and often confronts them with painful and difficult choices. (Gilligan, 1986, p. 332.)

Willard's research (1985, 1989) on mothers of young children engaged in resolving work-family conflicts uncovered two main responses to this dilemma. Some of these women were able to voice clearly and strongly the decisions about work and family roles in the midst of conflicting "shoulds" and contradictory cultural scripts. Other women find the conflicting messages about these roles overwhelming their own voices and leaving them vulnerable to these mixed messages about mothering and working outside the family.

In her dissertation, Willard (1985) found that those women who were able to make decisions in their own terms, and women who were employed part-time, had the lowest depression scores of the sample she studied. Additionally, her "findings about the developmental opportunities presented by motherhood did not fit conceptualizations of adult development which emphasize individual identity and separation." She recommended "the development of theoretical frameworks that consider the place of relationships in the life cycle."

In a later article (1989), Willard states that cultures vary tremendously in the ways in which they organize work and parenting. Each culture presents a "script" or a specific set of ideas about how things should be done. This script guides individuals through major life transitions, and is workable because the supporting social structures make it possible to fulfill these expectations.

However, in our present culture, supports for our newer scripts, such as adequate childcare, benefited part-time or flexible jobs and adequate parental leave, are lacking while the belief continues that following older scripts is desirable or possible, even when they contain inherent contradictions.

Willard identified three scripts with which women are typically presented: selfless wife and mother, superwoman and an unwritten one which reflects decisions based upon one's own family and situation.

The selfless wife and mother script is supported by numerous studies dating back over the years and done by prominent experts in the field of psychology, most notably Helen Deutsch. What is most striking in this research on motherhood is the confusion of self and role. Only the role of motherhood has been looked at and, generally, the research has been concerned with how that role affected the child.

The superwoman script is marked by the "you can have it all" mentality that emphasizes total commitment to work as well as to mothering, an obvious impossibility.

The alternative framework described by Willard is based upon Gilligan's schema of developmental progression in women from, first, individual survival to, second, an understanding of goodness as self-sacrifice, to, finally, a shift from "goodness" to truth. Jane Attanucci (1982, 1989), another student of Gilligan, has also researched the "in whose terms" question in the case of mothering. She notes the failure of psychology "to provide an adequate description of maternal self, from the point of view of the mother, particularly in the light of the essential part her role is assigned in the models of healthy child development" (1989, p. 202). It is, as she points out, this very equation of a mother with her role in her child's development which creates the blind spot in researching the maternal self and mothering from the perspective and experience of adult women.

Attanucci's research in this question of self and role revealed that it was the incongruity between the role demands of motherhood and the experience of the self that provided the driving force for change. This discrepancy between role denials and the actual experience of the women in the study led to a transition from an understanding of self and other through ascribed roles to an understanding of self and other beyond these roles. Attanucci explains the developmental progression in a similar manner to the model Willard identifies. She suggests this developmental model as an alternative to the first two scripts discussed earlier.

> Gilligan (1977) purports that the critical transition for adult women in the transition from a conventional feminine role in which "goodness" is self-sacrifice toward a truthful acknowledgment of oneself as deserving of the consideration one grants others. This transition emerges from a growing awareness of the deception inherent in the feminine role of selflessness and the destruction to self and other which that deception breeds. Women, having achieved this transition from goodness to truth, in fact, do not become indifferent individuals, a trait women fear; rather, they acknowledge their interdependence as caring individuals, including themselves in the circle of those for whom they care. (Attanucci, 1989, p. 207.)

It is in this last transition that women find their own voice and are able to identify and define their own terms. Women who are able to make decisions about parenting and employment in their own terms transcend the false dichotomies of role prescriptions.

> Mothering, which brings with it the necessity to make choices that involve the well-being of oneself and others, provides an opportunity to redefine the understanding of the self in such decisions. The activity of mothering is a particularly interesting place to look at women's thinking about such choices, because such cultural definitions of self as autonomous and separate often lead people to encounter the choices in the experience of mothering as being associated with self or other. Because mothering presents women with an opportunity to experience care of others as self-enhancing, it highlights the possibility of finding ways to thing about self and other. Care of self and other need not be seen as opposing choices. (Willard, pp. 231-232.)

Several of the women in the study voiced concerns about what they felt as the presence of cultural scripts. But the script they heard was often contradictory to what they were doing. Some women felt their script compelled mothering full-time, yet circumstances meant they had now to be working mothers. Some of the "stay at home mothers" felt they were not living up to the expectation to be also

working outside the home. Thus, whatever script they were following, they tended to feel the tug of the other one.

> These women, struggling to see the self in others' definitions and in others' expectations, were characterized by an inability to hear the self's own voice in the self's own terms (p. 237).

The research evaluated women's decisions as deciding in one's own terms versus deciding in others' terms. Coding of the interviews revealed that own-term deciders, in considering employment issues, used first-person pronouns, employed active verbs and included their own needs as well as the needs of others. In describing their own decision-making processes, these women discovered their own terms and were able to seek an inclusive accommodating solution which recognized the terms of connection to others as well as their own concerns about subordinating these needs.

Women who decided in others' terms often used the third-person pronoun and passive verbs as well as the language of guilt, obligation and judgment. Their own voices were lost in the demands and expectations of others and there was a frequent tendency to deny the constraints they felt.

The importance of this study, in part, is the information and framework it provides for reframing questions around the work/motherhood choices many women must make, from "Who do I put first, the child or me?" (my career or, more likely, my financial ability), to "How can I best care for this child and myself?" I

would add that such relational reframing could also resolve many other either/or questions in terms of policies affecting the work/family system.

Additionally, as women come to think in these inclusive questions, they become less vulnerable to conflicts between a self-ideal with which they have been presented and the realities of their own experience. Since the distance between self-ideal and self-concept is a mark of depression, a reduction in this distance and in these conflicts contributes to well-being.

Mary Catherine Bateson, in an interview with Bill Moyers, previewed some of the ideas she developed in a recent book, Composing a Life, on how women create order and sense out of their conflicting commitments. One of the contributions she makes to the question at hand is her affirmation of the particular skills women learn in having a family, skills which have profound implications for the workplace. Too often, the skills and lessons of childrearing and homemaking are devalued and are never seen as contributing to the woman's overall abilities, professional and personal. Bateson points out some of these abilities, and publicly acknowledges these strengths.

> We talk now about the conflict that women have between work and home and how terrible it is to be torn in two directions. But women have always been torn. . . . This is what it is to be a woman. And this is what it is to keep a household going, to

have multiple skills, to deal with transitions, to deal with the life of the whole. There is a sense in which women have retained the capacity to be generalists, to live in an ecology in which there is more than one life, and you have to balance them off. Now, when you go out of the home and into the corporation or factory, you may spend all day thinking of one factor in a complex situation. Far too many men have been narrowed to caring for only one thing. . . . You know what people say about women--that they are easily distracted, and that success has to do with focusing on specific goals. But what if the health of the world depends on the same kind of capacity that allows you, while you are feeding one child, to see the other child is reaching and about to pull a cooking pot of hot liquid on his head? This capacity to see out of the corner of your eye, and care about the health, not just of one child, but of three or four and a husband and other members of a family--that is the capacity to care about the health of a multitude of nations, or an environment of many species. (Bateson, 1989a, p. 353.)

Composing a Life is something of an autobiographical, biographical essay which considers "composition" as the metaphor for the creative act in which women weave the meanings of their lives. Derived from her conversations with four other women and her own life's experiences, Bateson examines the lives of women who are "trying to compose lives that will honor all their commitments and still express all their potentials" (p. 232). She points to the once-held view that the simple admission of women into the structures and decision-making avenues of our major institutions would bring about change.

> We now see that those women who succeed in adopting traditional male models leave the world very much as it is, and so we celebrate the success of women who participate on male terms with a certain ambivalence. We no longer see femaleness as guaranteeing a higher degree of caring; rather, we are concerned with the question of how the necessary combinations of caring

> will be made, and how the old divisions of labor, constructed in terms of separate spheres of activity, will be redistributed across genders. (Bateson, 1989, p. 233.)

Bateson believes that, rather than aspiring to a future without "conflicting claims," what women need to do is to recognize the strengths in this pattern. Women can offer a rapidly changing and newly complex world the ability to embrace multiplicity and reject either/or forced choices such as work or home or caring versus competition.

There is an ecological impact from the attentiveness women learn in their caretaking roles, for the survival unit is the organism plus its environment. Thus, sensitivity to the environment, a longer time perspective rather than an obsession with short-term goals, a shift of concern from our immediate selves to all our progeny, and, in short, a concern with our response and responsibility for the planet may be critical to our survival as a species.

The women Bateson presents in this book,

> . . . have learned modes of effectiveness that make them caretakers and homemakers beyond their own families, creating environments for growth or learning, healing or moving toward creative fulfillment, seeking authority as a means rather than as an end. For them, caretaking and homemaking are not alternatives to success and productivity in the male professional or business worlds; they are styles of action in that world based on the recognition that ideas and organizations and imaginative visions also require fostering. (Bateson, 1989, p. 235.)

As Bateson (1989a) points out, when G.I.s came home from the war, everyone said what great students they were because of the years that they spent in the army, even though there was no direct connection between these roles. It was believed that their skills in learning were facilitated by the complexity and experience of their war-time roles and the maturity those years contributed. Women need to have an analogous viewing of the skills, maturity and perceptions they develop in their roles as caretakers when they bring these abilities to a wider arena.

Urie Bronfenbrenner claimed that it is possible to graduate from an American high school or college "without ever having had to do a piece of work which was needed by someone else," or,

> . . . without ever having had to comfort or assist another human being who really needed help. Yet all of us, sooner or later, will desperately need such comfort and care, and no society can sustain itself unless its members have learned the motivations, sensitivities and skills that such caring requires. (Bronfenbrenner, 1980, p. 5.)

Bellenky, McVicker Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986), in Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind, describe the ways of knowing as developed and valued by women and often overlooked and undervalued by the dominant intellectual and cognitive development theories.

The authors identify five major positions women hold in relation to their view of the nature of knowledge and their

self-perception as knowers. These are silence or the experience of powerlessness associated with not having heard a voice; received knowledge, or the ability to listen and replicate the voices of authority but being unable to participate in the knowledge process; subjective knowledge, which represents the valuing of intuitive or experiential knowledge to the exclusion of any other kind; procedural knowledge, which entails learning and applying objective procedures for acquiring and communicating knowledge; and constructive knowledge, which represents a position where women integrate subjective and objective ways of knowing, appreciate the contextual aspect of knowing and acknowledge their own ability and process in the construction of knowledge.

The authors interviewed 135 women from both traditional colleges and the social service agencies they termed "invisible colleges," or agencies where the women learned to deal with parenting issues.

They chose this second group because they wanted to learn the ways in which the practice of mothering shaped women's thought about human development and relationship. This, in turn, could be of value to human service providers and educators concerned with maximizing human development.

They found that women understood caretaking to be central to their lives' work, and that, through "listening and responding," these women,

> . . . draw out the voices and minds of those they help to raise up. In the process, they often come to hear, value and strengthen their own voices and minds as well. (Belenky, et al., p. 48.)

Given what researchers such as Kohn and Crouter have uncovered about the adult development potential of workplace practices and their impact on parenting styles, one could anticipate a similar flow from the work of the "invisible colleges" and models such as the "Listening Project," described later, on not only parenting ability and more positive child development outcomes, but on the leadership styles and work-related abilities women could bring to the world of work.

The group of women who represented the constructivist position of knowing in the Women's Ways of Knowing research closely resembles the women interviewed by Bateson. The constructivist position views all knowledge as constructive and views the knower "as an intimate part of the known" (p. 137). It involves a way of thinking which is both separate and connected, objective as well as subjective, critical as well as accepting. Clinchy (1988) believes this is "similar to the kind of double vision good therapists have" (p. 27). It also resembles the post-institutional

leadership/parenting style Kegan and Lahey (1984) describe as optimal for child development and healthy family functioning. This is a level of adult development in which the parent is trapped in neither relational needs nor role prescriptions, but is clearly differentiated from the child with appropriate boundaries and possesses a sense of parenting as the provision of "a context which empowers the children to make their own choices as to who they shall be" (Kegan and Lahey, 1984, p. 208).

The extension of this level of adult development, caretaking and leadership style into a larger ecology is typical of women who represent this position.

> Constructivist women aspire to work that contributes to the empowerment and improvement in the quality of life of others. More than any other group of women in this study, the constructivists feel a part of the effort to address with others the burning issues of the day and to contribute as best they can. They speak of integrating feeling and care into their work. . . . They reveal in the way they speak and live their lives their moral conviction that ideas and values, like children, must be nurtured, cared for, placed in environments that help them "grow." (Belenky, et al., p. 152.)

An outgrowth of this research is an application project with lower-income rural women. Entitled "Listening Partners" (Belenky, 1988), the project attempts to facilitate cognitive/affective development in women who are mothers through a supportive group structure for listening and reflecting that allows women to share their own stories and recognize their own development. This process

is usually experienced as empowering for the women involved and leads to changes in their life situations and parenting practices.

Although not identified as such, the process is reminiscent of "conscientizacao" of Paulo Freire, the process where an individual learns to "perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1974, p. 19).

An interesting counseling/developmental practice might be to combine elements of these two personal and political growth processes with Allen Ivey's Developmental Theory (1986) model which attempts to match therapeutic methods with Piagetian developmental concepts in the process of counseling.

If women are able to engage in this practice of finding their own voices, telling their stories and hearing them back, identifying their strengths and challenging the structures that keep them out of full participation in the world, we may be able to collectively remove the artificial boundaries between work and family and develop institutions which are responsive and responsible.

Implications for Change

What of the future? Do we have any inklings as to how families, and particularly women in families, will manage their work-family systems in the next decades?

One author (Barret, 1984) suggests that the current dichotomy between males and females in terms of wages, power and career success may be replaced by a careerist/parent split which will require little change on the part of work organizations. This is a similar idea to that of the "mommy track" proposed a few years ago by a consultant from "Catalyst," an organization which consults with organizations regarding attracting, retaining and developing women. This proposal has stirred quite a bit of controversy, since it is seen by many feminists as developing a new form of inequality. Its proponents defend it as a policy which will better accommodate women (and perhaps men) during the early years of childrearing. The question remains, I think, whether our society can create any dualistic system without replicating another system of inequality for the one it proposes to eliminate.

Hunt and Hunt (1982), as cited in Hodgson (1984), present a model similar to Barret. They foresee the following trichotomy.

> The Prioritizers will forego children and concentrate on careers for both spouses.
>
> The Traditionalists will compromise careers in order to focus on family life.
>
> The Integrators will work together in the same occupation and workplace with few boundaries between marriage and work.

Hodgson adds the fourth possibility of androgynous families who will experiment with scheduling and work involvement. Barret also cites Hunt and Hunt's vision of one other possibility.

> What is becoming incompatible with family life, the Hunts insist, are careers as they are traditionally understood. In opposition to their grim vision of countless pairs of narrow, hard-driving, obsessive careerists, Francine and Douglas Hall point to the emergence of the "Protean Career," in which success is equated as much with emotional satisfaction and an improved overall equality of life as with increased money and prestige. All indications are that marriages stand a better chance when it is feasible for either or both partners to subscribe to that approach. (Barret, p. 114.)

The options so far suggested seem to me to be fairly limited and lack a certain imagination. One glaring omission in these recommendations is a consideration of what is good for children, our collective future. Another problem is the strong middle-class bias. What of the rest of society? How likely is the "Protean Career" to take hold? What are the implications of a careerist/parent split in the workforce and society as a whole? What are the implications of large numbers of "careerists" in our society who have no children (and perhaps no interest in them)? Mary Rowe (1981) draws a picture of some of the systematic changes that might occur.

> My first "issue" is: will this society continue to have children? Now you may think this is a silly question, but I look at my teenage children and I know that about three-fourths of that age group will have two children or one child or no children. There is a real question of what will happen to this society with respect to children. Of course, there are many who think that zero population growth will be a very good thing indeed for the population. But I urge you to consider what happens to a society that has many fewer children. Within this coming decade fewer than half of all American households will have children in them. Many, many households will have

only one child. And that child will associate primarily with adults. Now you may think that adults aren't such a bad thing, but it is a totally different way of socializing human beings to have one child. One child generally needs socialization with other children in order to grow up to be a sane human being.

Let me ask those of you who are employers to think about a couple of broader questions for the 1980s. In this society with many fewer children, what will happen to play? What will happen to tenderness? What will happen to caretaking? For those of you who work directly with children--the day care people--let me ask you another question. What will happen to the children's lobby? Who will speak for children in a society that has many fewer children? Many of the so-called "pro-family" people--many of whom are especially powerful, older white males, who have never taken care of a child themselves--seem to me to be propounding policies which will have the effect of our having fewer children and our having much less joy in our children. So my first question is will we have children, and to what extent we do not, what will it do to our society? And who will speak for the kids? (Rowe, 1981, p. 6.)

Given these inadequate options for the future, what types of policy changes need to be made in our society, especially in the workplace? Kanter (1977a), Pogrebin (1983) and Crouter and Perry-Jenkins (1986) are among many researchers who have recommended policies in this area. These include the following: flexitime (coordinated), flexiplace, job redesign, job-sharing, job enrichment, quality circles and participatory management; parental leave that could be taken at any time in the family cycle; sabbaticals; daycare (with a variety of options); noontime (or breaktime) seminars on parenting issues; family-worker councils; methods of communication between home and workplace; comparable worth; on-site family counseling and the provision of a Family Responsibility Statement similar to an Affirmative Action statement,

which would legitimate the company's commitment to this new vision of work-family life and provide the basis for the aforementioned policies.

The problems with such policies also need to be carefully considered. Too much, or the wrong kind of, intrusion into the family could be detrimental. Our experiences with the social services network can give us a hint of the possible pitfalls of such programs. Therefore, policy in this area needs to be carefully thought out to assure the provision of confidentiality, respect for a variety of family and lifestyles, individual family needs for options as in daycare, and the avoidance of the workplace merely "running" the family. Policies without widespread systematic changes can become "more of the same wrong solution" and exacerbate the work-family pull.

Nevertheless, the absence of such policies itself is a "policy," and the indications are that families, and particularly women, do need more of these changes at work. If workers are involved in planning, implementing and monitoring these policies and have a real voice and power in these situations, the potential dangers might be reduced. As Crouter states, these policies must be researched as to their real efficacy in helping alleviate the strains of the work-family system.

Claire Etaught (1984) summarized her chapter on the "Effects of Maternal Employment on Children," with a list of guidelines for the family therapist who is working with individual working parents. Most of these suggestions, although useful, are geared toward individual solutions and accommodations. What is needed now are more suggestions for ways in which social and organizational change agents, family therapists, employee assistance counselors and employees themselves can facilitate more systematic changes.

Given what has been reviewed in this paper on the implications of change in the work-family system, I would agree with Kanter's (1977a) conclusion that,

> Major changes in the world of work and the structure of work organizations may, indeed, turn out to have more profound effects on the quality of family life than all attempts to influence individual behavior. (Kanter, 1977a, p. 118.)

Given what we are learning from the "women's voice" literature and the ecological perspective of women's caretaking capacities for profound change in our social structures, the "world" of the family may prove to be a creative resource for the "world" of work. As one social policy analyst wrote,

> If women's values become a force in creating and influencing work culture, if women can resist efforts to use their understandings to enforce old roles, then exciting possibilities

> could confront us in terms of cooperation and shared goals in the workplace and in family life. (Kessler-Harris, 1987, p. 536.)

Clergywomen and Family Issues

A computer search as well as a review of indices of literature and an examination of books on women in the clergy revealed surprisingly little in any area even remotely related to the questions under consideration in this proposal. Those articles that looked promising by title often had little to do with the subject of this research. Lynn Rhodes (1983, 1987), for both her dissertation and book, interviewed several women in the clergy, but her focus was on their construction of feminist theology and their vocational calling. Mary Donovan (1988) provides some interesting portraits of women priests in the Episcopal church, but only a few of the interviews focus on the family issues of these women. A moving personal account of the conflict between motherhood and ministry, written by Kristen Foster (1989), provides some insight into these issues, but does not qualify as research.

The most closely-related research was a study done by Lee Richmond, Carole Rayburn and Lynn Rogers (1985) on stress in professional religious families. The authors found that women clergy reported less role ambiguity, fewer boundary problems, less stress and role conflict and greater cognitive coping capacities, and experienced less physical strain than their male counterparts.

Men were found to have more recreational outlets than women, however.

The non-clergy spouses of clergywomen were found to be the most in jeopardy of all the marriage patterns looked at, and the authors concluded that "Being married to a women of the cloth causes both confusion and feelings of inadequacy in the non-clergy spouses" (Richmond, Rogers and Raymond, 1985, p. 84). The best marital arrangement was seen as the dual-clergy couple, for purposes of mutual support.

The authors found that women rabbis were more overloaded, strained and lacking in social supports than their Protestant colleagues. In general, they found that the difficulties experienced by both male and female clergy were compounded by a social desirability factor that made it difficult for them to admit to or seek support for their problems. The researchers concluded that the "vocational stresses that lead to family strain in clergy bear close investigation and careful interpretation" (p. 84).

No mention was made of parent-child issues, reciprocity of influence, or the rewarding and fulfilling aspect of the dual demands of parenthood and ministry.

London and Allen (1985) included family satisfaction in their study of male and female clergy and their families. The participants in their study reported satisfaction in both areas of their lives and tended, on the whole, to place their occupational

commitments above their family commitments. Some changes in these perspectives were noted in younger clergypeople, and age rather than gender seemed to be connected with this change. This research is perhaps the most relevant to this current study.

Other related research and models for research were found in an article on dual-career ministry (Kieren and Munro, 1988) and one on the wider area of the minister's family (Lee, 1988). These provided useful additions to the work-family system literature within this profession.

Kieren and Munro studied nine dual-career clergy families in the synods of the Lutheran church in western Canada. They found that, in addition to the pressures associated with dual careers for any couple, clergy couples experienced the added difficulties of diffuse boundaries between work and family roles, particularly regarding embeddedness and absorption.

The authors describe the profession of the clergy as a "greedy role."

> Clergy duties had high priority, they could be expected to place demands at any time on the person in the role, they demanded a high level of performance and personal commitment, and they were rarely, if ever, finished completely" (p. 243).

Rewards were found in a commitment to mutual development.

Couples with children found some advantage in the children's ability to participate at times in the parents' roles and have

less-stereotypic views of gender roles. However, in all cases, it was the wife who had primary childcare responsibilities. The characteristics of high flexibility, openness to change and highly-developed problem-solving strategies were considered essential.

In terms of needs, many couples found few, if any, outside support systems. The authors recommend the following: the need for anticipatory socialization in seminary; the use of "change agents" in congregations, hiring and pastoral support committees to work on transforming expectations regarding the "twenty-four-hour call"; realistic expectations of part-time work; family impact analyses regarding role expectations in a congregation; in-service education or church leaders in this area of work and family life; counseling services outside the church hierarchy; and maternity leave and childcare assistance.

Although this was a study which focused on dual-career clergy couples, many of the findings and recommendations apply to all female clergy with families (and, indeed, to all clergy). Women in these roles is still a new phenomenon for many people.

> It is evident that for some and perhaps even many people there is little understanding of a dual clergy couple and even less of a female clergy person. Attitudes toward the role of a clergy person, about the balance between work and family for

> clergy persons and the role of women in the church are challenged by the mere presence of these unique leaders in church life. The church has a tendency to be slow in responding to changes in these areas. Thus it is not surprising that a well developed educational and support network is lacking for these pioneers (p. 246).

Cameron Lee (1988) cites the lack of research on the family life of clergy and proposes an ecological systems model for conceptually organizing a study of the work-family system of a minister. It is based on the work of Bronfenbrenner discussed earlier. The author reviews what little literature is available on this issue, and concludes that, even when studied, the issue has been dominated by the congregation's needs and benefits.

Lee also provides a rationale for the need for such studies.

> The quality of a pastor's ministry cannot be neatly separated from his or her interpersonal concerns. Family problems complicate ministry, just as ministry difficulties can affect the family adversely. This interaction, however, is not only true in the negative sense, but in the positive sense as well: both clergy family and the congregational family can be sources of strength to the pastor, each reinforcing the other. A study of the minister's family, then, could have the long range salutatory effect of increasing the minister's effectiveness, by ascertaining how family life and pastoral ministry mutually reinforce each other, for better or for worse (pp. 249-250).

Using Bronfenbrenner's terms in conjunction with a family systems perspective, Lee coins the term "microsystem/exosystem boundary ambiguity" to describe the unique characteristics of the work-family system of the clergy. He also raises some interesting

questions concerning the function of theological orientations in understanding role prescriptions.

Lee advocates further research from these perspectives that may yield knowledge which will help both clergy growth in family life and increased effectiveness in ministry to the congregation.

In a later paper, Lee (1990) discussed the particular stresses of the children of the clergy. "Preacher's Kids," or "PKs," as they are often called, experience unique pressures in growing up.

Lee states, "Unfortunately, there is little substantive research or literature on 'preacher's kids,' or 'PKs,' to effectively challenge the stereotype that church members and even clergy seem to hold of them" (Lee, 1990, p. 1).

Among the problems faced by these children are the following: the expectation of being model children; the very lack of boundaries between work and family and the intrusion of the congregation into family life; unique pressures on their parents to be even-tempered and supportive even under extreme personal criticism; witnessing the pettiness of church politics and its effects on their parents; experiencing hypocrisy of prescribed versus actual behavior; being expected to meet behavioral demands that are at odds with family values; and precocious maturity or stereotypic rebellion.

Lee stresses the interactive effects of congregational and familial environments on child development in clergy families: "The

interplay of the relative strength of congregational families and clergy families constitute the crucible context in which the PK character is formed" (p. 3).

Lee's research contributes to a scarce body of research and clearly articulates some of the problems faced by clergy families and suggests solutions or ways to handle them. More needs to be developed on the benefits and unique opportunities afforded in this lifestyle as well.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Research and the In-Depth Interview

The type of methodology used in this study is influenced by the qualitative research design described as In-Depth Phenomenological Interviewing. The particular approach to this research I used is based upon the work of Earl Seidman (1985) and its application from a feminist perspective as developed by Mary Bray Schatzkamer (1986). To further focus the interview process, probe questions were utilized to explore specific areas. This approach was influenced by the intensive interview/case study research process of Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986).

The goals of these types of research paradigms are to convey the experience, construction and meaning-making processes that participants bring to the research question in as direct a manner as possible and to present stories, profiles and themes that emerge from these interviews as the "data" of the research.

The task of the interviewer in this type of research is to organize the data in such a way as to let the participant's voice emerge as unencumbered as possible by the researcher's questions, assumptions and filters. As Schatzkamer (1986) expressed it, the researcher's task is to "to listen, with a third ear if possible" to the participant's reflections and construction of meaning.

Belenky, et al. (1986), describe their procedure as one of inductive interviewing, as "opening our ears to the voices and perspectives of women so that we might begin to hear the unheard and unimagined" (p. 11).

The specific objective of this research project was to allow the participants to share the perspectives and meanings which they have of their work-family system and, in turn, illuminate our understanding of what that experience is like.

Apart from this immediate knowledge, this research can provide data for further explorations of the questions raised from both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

The research process consisted of two ninety-minute audiotaped interviews scheduled in fairly close sequence. The process was intentionally open-ended but focused. The intent of this process for the women in this study was threefold: first, to task them to recall the forces and sequences in their lives that led to their present situations in their particular work-family systems; second, to describe their lives as they currently experience them as both clergywomen and parents; and, third, to present the meanings that these experiences hold for them.

For these reasons, there were three overreaching questions which structured the interviewing process and correspond to the three interviewing sessions.

Part I: Historical/Biographical Antecedents and Context:

> I am interested in talking with you about your experience of being a clergywoman who is also a parent. What I would like you to do is recollect, recall and reconstruct for me the sequences of events and issues that have surrounded these experiences for you up to the present time. . . . You could begin wherever it seems appropriate.

Part II: The Present:

> I would now like you to describe to me in as much detail as possible what your life is like at present, in terms of your dual role as clergywoman and parent. [What is it like for you now to be both (minister, priest or rabbi) and mother?]

Part III: The Meaning:

> Now I am going to try and find out what your experience as clergywoman and parent fundamentally means to you. We have talked about these forces that have shaped your life and what the realities of that life are at present, and I would like you to reflect for a while and then tell me how this experience of parenting and ministering comes together for you.

Beyond these introductory questions for each interview, a flexible preplanned set of probe questions concerning sequence of life events, the work of the clergy, parenting, relationships, conflicting demands, sources of support, self-image and visions of the future were used. These were asked at the woman's own pace in order to allow the participant's experience itself to suggest where, what and when questions should be asked, and to keep the interview as much as possible in the participant's own terms. This prevented the interviewer's questions from leading, directing the specific ends or shaping the interview prematurely.

In some instances, prompting, clarification, tracking, paraphrasing, redirecting, funneling and, at times, direct questions arising from the participant's response were used. These techniques helped to keep the interview tight and enabled the participant to be comfortable and focused. They were, however, kept to a minimum.

Once the interviews were completed, the tapes were transcribed in total and coded for specific themes, issues and patterns which emerged from the interview material.

When all the interviews had been analyzed in this way, the total number of interviews were compared to determine where common and contrasting themes were found. These themes and issues became the findings of the dissertation research and are presented with illustrative examples from the respondent's own words.

Once this material was selected, these portions of the transcripts, as well as the analysis and results sections, were mailed back to the participants for review in terms of accuracy and confidentiality, and the participants were asked to answer questions regarding agreement and disagreement with the responses of other participants and given the opportunity to express any additional concerns they might have had. This procedure served as a "Member Check," a procedure described more fully under "Methods of Interpretation and Analysis."

The Interview Schedule

INTRODUCTION:

Background Information (use data sheet); Name (assign code); title used; age; location; denomination; marital status; previous marriages; number, gender, names and ages of children; seminary/divinity school attended; date of ordination.

PART I: BIOGRAPHICAL ANTECEDENTS.

1. How did you come to be a [minister, priest, rabbi]?

2. At what point in your life did you choose to enter the [ministry, priesthood or rabbinate]?

3. When in your life did you decide to become a parent?

4. Who has been involved in parenting with you?

5. *Can you identify points in your dual career as a mother/clergywoman that were especially hard or especially fulfilling?
   --OR--
   *What have been the joys and dilemmas of parenting for you?
   *What have been the joys and dilemmas of your clergy role?

6. *How did becoming a [minister, priest rabbi] impact on your becoming a parent?
   --OR--
   *How did your becoming a parent impact on your becoming a [minister, priest, rabbi]?

   [*These questions were adjusted to the particular life pattern of the woman interviewed.]

7. What was the experience of pregnancy like for you? Did it have an effect on other roles in your life? How did you feel about this? How did you feel other people felt about this? [If adoption was the method of parenthood, a question on this process will be substituted.]

8. What was the experience of first being a clergywoman like for you [at ordination, or in your first call to a parish, chaplaincy or other public clergy role]? How did you feel about this change in your life? How do you think your family felt about it?

PART II: THE PRESENT.

1. What is a typical week like for you?

2. What are the greatest stresses, difficulties and challenges in your life at present?

3. What are the greatest rewards, enhancements and satisfactions in your life at present?

4. How do you think your children feel about your work as a clergywoman?

5. Do you talk about your relationship to your real children to your congregation? [If so, how?]

6. How does your congregation know about, feel about your relationship to your family?

7. Are there competing demands from your own family and from your congregation or community? If so, how do you prioritize them? Do you always resolve this conflict in the same way? In the same order?

8. Are there differences and similarities in how you exercise your authority at home and in your congregation?

9. Are there differences and similarities in how you extend or express your nurturance at home and in your congregation?

10. What are your sources of support? What sustains you at present?

PART III: MEANING AND UNDERSTANDING.

1. Can you describe yourself as a clergywoman to me?

2. Does this description of yourself as a clergywoman conform to your image of that role? Where is it similar or different?

3. Can you describe yourself as a parent to me?

4. Does this description of yourself as a parent conform to your image of mothering? Where is it similar or different? Is there any relationship to the mothering you received as a child?

5. How do you feel being a clergywoman comes together with being a parent for you? What do you think people in your congregation would say if they were asked? [Do you have any stories, examples, incidents related to this question?]

6. What do you feel you symbolize as a clergywoman to your congregation? Does being a mother have an impact of that perceived symbolism? [Do you have any examples, illustrations?]

7. How do you make God present in your congregation?

8. Is there anything about being a woman and a mother that influences this?

9. How do you communicate <u>your</u> understanding of and your relationship to God to others? [Your children? Your congregation?]

10. Is there anything about being a woman and a mother that influences this?

11. How do you enable others to realize their own understanding of God?

12. Is there anything about being a woman and a mother that influences this?

13. What are your hopes for the future? What is your vision for yourself? Your family? Your work? Your church or synagogue?

CONCLUSION:

1. How did you feel about this interview process?

2. Were there questions you were uncomfortable with? Which ones? Why?

3. Were there questions you enjoyed answering? Which ones? Why?

4. Has being involved in this research process affected how you experience or view being a mother? A clergywoman?

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of sixteen ordained clergywomen who, at some point in their lives, have had childrearing experiences for at least one child.

Four of the women are mothers whose children are now grown. Two of these four also have grandchildren. The remaining twelve have children living with them who, at the time of the interviews, ranged in age from eleven weeks to seventeen years. A few of the women also had children at college or boarding school. The range of ages for the children was, thus, eleven weeks to forty years. The number of children these women had ranged from one to four.

The age for the participants ranged from thirty-four to sixty-three. Three of the women were widowed. One was currently divorced. For two of the participants, this was a second marriage. All of the remaining ten were currently married, each in a first marriage. Seven of the women were currently or had been in dual-clergy couples.

The following denominations were represented by these participants: Baptist (2), Episcopal (4), Lutheran (1), Judaism (1 Reform, 1 Reconstructionist), Methodist (1), Presbyterian (1), United Church of Christ (4), and Unitarian (1). The ordination of women in some denominations, most notably and most recently for the Episcopal Church, was still controversial.

The timing of ordination varied tremendously. A few went directly from college to divinity school to ordained status before thirty years of age. On the other hand, one woman was ordained at forty-seven, another at fifty. The majority were in their early to mid-thirties.

For eight of the participants, becoming a clergywoman was a change or switch in their careers. Only one woman had children who were fully grown at the time of her ordination. Ten of the women were ordained before having children. The remaining six were ordained after they had children.

Previous research I have reviewed, using the extensive interviewing process I have described, has included anywhere from four to eighteen participants (Smithurst, 1984; Schatzkamer, 1986; Hardin, 1987). The number of participants I selected allowed for a broad range of denominational and life experience representations, but was small enough to do justice to the interviewing process.

The criteria of childrearing responsibility emerged from my previous research on work-family systems (Bingham, 1989), which showed responsibility, pressure and satisfaction with parenthood to be particularly significant issues. I chose to make parenthood the determining criteria for family responsibility for the research I undertook. This was not to deny other types of family care and responsibility as important and worthy of consideration, but was a

necessary form of limit to control the scope of the dissertation research.

Participants were located using a networking approach by talking with several ministers, priests and rabbis whom I know. Several of the participants suggested other individuals whom I might wish to interview, and one woman contacted me herself, having heard about the research project. Only two of my original slate of suggested candidates declined to participate, and in both cases this was due to time constraints. All of the women involved in the study were particularly cooperative and interested in the research.

Geographically, the women were all located in Massachusetts, and represented Worcester, Franklin, Hampshire, Hampden, Suffolk and Middlesex counties. The congregations they served included urban, rural, suburban and school and college settings.

Three women were in associate positions. Two were co-pastors or chaplains. The remaining eleven were in charge of their respective congregations or programs. Three were in school settings in academic and/or chaplain roles. Seven were in "part-time" positions. The remaining nine were in full-time positions.

The Interview Process

The interviews for this research consisted of two ninety-minute interviews following the interview schedule described earlier, and audiotaped and later transcribed in full.

Interviews were scheduled approximately two weeks apart. Participants had been given the opportunity via pre-signed agreement to review any part of their interviews used, verbatim or in paraphrase, and to decline use of the material if notification was received by the time designated prior to the final draft.

All interviews but one were conducted in the office or residence of the participant.

Methods of Interpretation and Analysis

Transcribed interviews were subsequently coded for common patterns and themes, using methods suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984). Codes were identified by various color markers. The themes that emerged were "call and clerical role," "timing of career," "timing of parenthood," "stresses and challenges," "rewards and satisfactions," "present realities," "self-image," "confluence of roles," "authority issues," "nurturance issues," and "holding the sacred."

From these clusters of patterns and themes, four were chosen as most inclusive and most directly related to the research questions concerning work and family. These were "Stresses and

Challenges," "Rewards and Satisfactions," "Authority Issues in Family and Congregation," and "Nurturance Issues in Family and Congregation." These themes formed the base of data presentation and analysis.

Once the data were arranged and presented, statements were separated on each theme in terms of similarity of response. Responses that were notably different from the majority are included, and reported as a method of internal check.

The data selected in terms of verbatim responses to the questions, analysis, discussion and conclusions were submitted to the participants. Participants were asked to review the material for accuracy regarding their own quotes and to flag any concerns about confidentiality. They were also asked to answer the following questions.

(1) Is there anything in the responses of the other participants with which you particularly agree?

(2) Is there anything in the responses of the other participants with which you particularly disagree?

(3) Is there anything in your own response that you would like to change, add or expand upon?

Submitting the data back to the participants is a variation of using a "member check" as a process in the analysis. This method of establishing creditability for the data was suggested by

descriptions of member checks presented by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Miles and Huberman (1984), but it has been expanded to include all of the original participants. By involving the women who participated in this study in the methodology itself, and sharing the results of the research with them, I am also attempting to overcome some of the hierarchical issues of research which have been criticized by those advocating for a more feminist methodology, where results are shared, issues raised, participants are involved and opportunities for change are envisioned (Roberts, 1981).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction of the Participants

The general demographic information about the participants is presented in the methodology section. What follows is a brief biographical sketch of each of the women whose responses form the data of this research.

Because of the very public roles these women occupy, I have made extensive attempts to disguise their identities in order to assure confidentiality. The type of research used in this dissertation ordinarily includes complete profiles of each participant. It was my belief that to present the information in this fashion would compromise confidentiality because of the women's visible roles in their communities.

I have therefore chosen to use more information and citation under each question and to provide only a bare outline of information at the outset to help in identifying the family structure, type of congregational setting and denomination of each of the participants.

The basic data for each of the sixteen women follows.

Leslie Chase is thirty-five years old, married and the mother of a six-year-old son named Paul and a three-year-old

daughter named Danielle. Leslie is an Associate Pastor and she works part-time in a fair-sized Baptist church.

Kate Barnett is thirty-six years old, recently ordained, married and has three children: Matthew, aged ten; Patricia, aged seven; and Mark, aged five. Kate is the pastor of a rural United Church of Christ congregation. This is a half-time position.

Eileen Clark is forty-five years old, divorced and the mother of two daughters: Stephanie, aged thirteen, and Andrea, aged eleven. Eileen is the pastor of a small United Church of Christ congregation. Her position is half-time.

Claire Cook is thirty-nine years old, married, and the stepmother of two children, Annette, aged twenty, and Jason, aged sixteen, and the legal guardian of a foreign student, Lisa, aged nineteen. Claire is the full-time rector of a large United Church of Christ church in a rural but growing area.

Ellen Crocker is fifty-five years old, married to another ordained minister in the Methodist church, and the mother of a twenty-three-year-old son, Robert, and a twenty-year-old daughter, Paula. Although Ellen served in rural parish settings when her children were growing up, she is currently in a full-time administrative church-affiliated position, and very active in an urban community in social and ecumenical issues.

Evelyn Reynolds is sixty-three years old, widowed, ordained in the Episcopal church, and currently director of a graduate theological program. Evelyn has four children: Andrew, aged forty; Luke, aged thirty-eight; Patrick, aged thirty-five; and Blythe, aged thirty-two. She also has three grandchildren.

Ruth Miller is thirty-four years old, married and the mother of a two-ahd-a-half-year-old daughter, Susanah. Ruth is an ordained rabbi in the Reconstructionist branch of Judaism and is the rabbi for an alternative form of Jewish congregation. This is a part-time position.

Emily Lewis is thirty-six, married and the mother of three children: Stephanie, aged nine; Elissa, aged six; and Meredith, aged four. Emily is an ordained rabbi in the Reform branch of Judaism. She is the full-time rabbi of a suburban synagogue.

Nancy Rogers is thirty-six, married and the mother of an eleven-week-old daughter, Amanda. She is the full-time pastor of an urban United Church of Christ congregation.

Susan Stanley is thirty-seven years old, married to an Episcopal priest and ordained as an Episcopal priest herself. Susan has two daughters, Sarah, aged four, and Dianah, aged two. She is an assistant rector in a part-time position in an urban parish.

Joanne Richards is forty years old, married to a Unitarian Universalist minister, which she is, also. She has one daughter,

Rebecca, who is four years old. Joanne and her husband are co-pastors of a rural federated church.

Elaine Marshall is thirty-four, married and the mother of two children, Caitlyn, aged five, and Eric, aged eight months. She is the full-time pastor of a rural Baptist church.

Jill Brooks is thirty-five, married to a Lutheran minister like herself, and the mother of a four-year-old daughter, Marissa. She is currently a part-time pastor in a Lutheran church in the western part of the state.

Dorothy Crowley is fifty-five, widowed and ordained in the Episcopal church. She is the mother of two daughters, Sheryl, aged twenty-four, and Christine, aged twenty-one. Dorothy has been a college chaplain for the past ten years after serving in parishes with her husband, who was also an Episcopal priest.

Marianne Morgan is fifty-seven, widowed and ordained in the Episcopal church. She has three children, Michael, aged thirty-two, Janet, aged thirty-one, and Dana, aged twenty-three. She is currently the full-time rector of an urban church. Her son is also a priest, and she has one grandchild.

Marty Davis is fifty-six, married to another Presbyterian minister, and is co-chaplain and teacher in a private school. She has one daughter, Jocelyn, who is seventeen.

Common Themes, Patterns and Variations

As stated above, the themes that emerged from the interview centered on the following: "call" to this vocation; timing of parenthood and career choices; stresses and challenges presented by the dual roles of mother and clergywoman; rewards and satisfactions found in these dual roles; similar descriptions of the present realities of the "typical" week; presentation of self-image; convergence and discrepancy in their roles; authority issues; nurturance issues; and holding and communicating "the sacred" dimensions of life.

The following four themes were chosen as being the most inclusive and the most relevant to the issue under study: "Points of Stress in the Dual Role of Mother and Clergywoman"; "Satisfactions, Rewards and Fulfillment in the Dual Role of Mother and Clergywoman"; "Issues of Authority in the Congregation and Family"; and "Issues of Nurturance in the Congregation and Family."

In the sections that follow, extensive use of the responses of the participants as they relate to these themes are provided.

Points of Stress in the Dual Role of Mother and Clergywoman

Nearly all of the women in this study were able to identify points in their lives where the expectations and demands of their dual roles as mothers and clergywomen created particular stresses. The only exception was one of the women who entered both seminary and the ministry after her children were nearly grown.

The best way to capture the flavor of the participant's experience of dual-role stress is to consider the reports of each woman's experience.

Leslie Chase experienced dual-role stress arising from being the first women minister in a church where, as with most churches, the previous ministers had wives who performed some functions considered very important to the congregation, such as joining with women of the parish in providing refreshments on important church occasions. As a minister and a woman, the expectation shifted to her. She was, in her own words, "Both the minister and the minister's wife."

> There were expectations that, of course, you would be involved in these fellowship meetings and that you would bring a dessert or a covered dish or something.
>
> I remember being called on the day before Easter to be asked what I was bringing to the breakfast they always had. What was I going to bake? I had two churches at that time. I said, "I have two Sunday morning services and Easter Sunday service, so I really can't be up at dawn to prepare for three services, so I really can't bake, and my husband can't, either."
>
> I can still remember seeing the notes from that meeting, and it didn't say, "It's inappropriate to ask the pastor to bring something on Easter morning." They wrote, "Don't ask Leslie to

> bake. It upsets her." So, they still didn't see that it was wrong to ask me to bring anything that morning. They wouldn't ask a male minister! The single men in ministry are never asked to do any of those kind of things. So that was difficult. There was that entire second agenda that was expected of me, that wasn't expected of men.

In a response to a question on similarities and differences in how she expressed her nurturance to her congregation and family, Joanne Richard shared an example of her changing sense of what was meant by nurturance with a similar example that illustrated this multiple-role expectation.

A much-beloved and community-active parishoner had died, and his daughter, who lived in New York, was trying to make arrangements for the funeral. Joanne Richard had been asked to conduct the service and the daughter had called to inquire if the nearby institution might be able to cater the reception.

One of the congregants of Joanne's parish thought that the women of the parish might want help with this, and sought to find some volunteers. No one offered to host the reception, because, as she said, "They all work." She called Joanne to see if she would consider serving the hostess function (none of this was the desire of the bereaved daughter). As Joanne recalls the conversation, the parishoner said:

> P: "I suppose you would be too busy to hostess this?"
>
> J: "But, P, I'm doing the service."
>
> P: "But everybody else works!"

These examples point to the stress of women clergy to fulfill ministerial and traditional clergy roles. The loss of the latter function was expressed by one participant who was both a "clergy wife" in one parish and a minster in another.

Jill Brooks reported that she was really missed as the fully-functioning pastor's wife in her husband's parish, and that the role of pastor's wife in ministering to, taking care of, representing and participating in the lives of the women of the parish was uniquely served by that role and sorely missed when not present, either because of the changing realities of male ministers' lives and their wives' lives, or because women now occupied the primary pastor role.

Another stress reported by Leslie Chase in the dual mother/minister role revolved around issues of pregnancy and childbirth.

> There was a lot of joy in the parish when I announced that I was pregnant, but no support system from the denomination about what to do about maternity leave. . . . Basically, what was said was, "Well, you're the first--let us know what you do!"
>
> And the whole negotiating process was difficult, because there was nothing, even though they'd hired a young married woman. The whole issue of maternity leave was not addressed at the time of my call. And, had I brought it up myself before they voted on me, it would be just one more strike against me. . . . A woman in that situation just cannot bring it up herself because that implies that she's going to have a baby. When I went to the church, I didn't know we'd have children. I knew that we wanted to have kids, but I wasn't going to jeopardize my call by discussing maternity policy! But, by the time we did discuss it, I was already pregnant.
>
> That was a very stressful time. . . . Just after I went on

> maternity leave, my paycheck didn't come. Somehow, through all the negotiations, the church assumed they weren't paying me maternity leave and, yet, they didn't hire anyone to replace me! They had somebody showing up on Sunday to preach, but when it came time to write the monthly paycheck, the treasurer asked and nobody was really sure. My husband, at that point, stepped in and said, "This is the way it is. She is recovering from a difficult birth. You don't bother her. She shouldn't have to worry whether you're paying her or not." It was the only time when I really felt vulnerable, and he stepped in and said, "Leave her out of this. This is between you and me." And, you know, it as an extremely stressful time. Just having a baby in the church was an extremely stressful thing . . . unexpectedly so.

Leslie commented on the parallels between having a new baby as the lader of a church congregation and bringing a new baby into an established family.

> They had a blazing case of sibling rivalry. Now having had two children, I can see that having a new baby arrive on the scene, that's exactly what it was! The "Healer" is not supposed to be sick, and pregnancy is perceived as an illness. It was difficult for them to understand the stress after pregnancy. I just felt unsupported in a number of ways. And they were jealous. They really were jealous. It's the only way to describe it.

Although there were outpourings of love and support, baby showers and the like, there was no reduction in duties or expectations in two different parish situations.

> After [my son was born], I must admit that I was surprised that more people in the church didn't have more concern about what it was going to be like after I had the baby, because they really didn't hire anyone. The negotiations for maternity leave left six weeks of pulpit supplies. But there was no acknowledgment that I did anything other than preach on Sunday. . . .
>
> The baby was three weeks late. He was a meconium baby, and very sick. Half of my maternity leave was up before I went into the hospital. I went in on a Sunday and came home on a Wednesday and had a wedding on the Sunday after. It was the kind of situation that, if they had lined up anybody else to cover those kind of things, [there would have been] somebody I

could have given it to. . . . It was a community where there was this couple. [The woman] was pregnant and wanted to get married right away. I'd never met them before. They didn't go to church. . . . It wasn't someone I really felt responsible for. It would have been the perfect opportunity to say, "I'm on maternity leave, call somebody else up to do it."

The church just assumed that I'd spend Thursday, Friday and Saturday night counseling, because I just refused to do the wedding without my six hours counseling. Then I did the wedding Sunday, exactly a week after I'd delivered. You know how you are--you can barely move, you still have your stitches in. It was really ridiculous. . . .

We had scheduled Bible school to start right after my maternity leave was up, so we had sixty-some kids in Bible school. I was overseeing that, and it turned out to be less than three weeks after my baby was born.

. . . Then we had a really terrible crisis in the church during the week. There was a really bad accident and one of our youth members ended up in a coma in the hospital. I ended up sitting death-watch, which turned out to be fourteen days. My mother called me down the the waiting room to nurse the baby, and my mother was the one who sat there with me.

There wasn't anyone. None of the people rallied around me to help with the baby, so that I could be with the family. I never got the sense that the church understood just how awful that was . . . and all those women had babies. . . .

Being young and inexperienced, and it being my first church, I didn't feel that I should bring it up myself--"Can't you see that I'm dying here, can't you get me some help?" There was all of this trauma over whether they were going to pay me for those six weeks, <u>anyway</u>, so I had this expectation that I was going to earn my salary, no matter what!

In this particular situation, Leslie wound up being burned out several months later, and the church suggested that she take an unpaid leave rather than leave her position in the church. This recommendation was made without the parish acknowledging that they played any part in this burnout process.

Even after the birth of her child, childcare proved to be a very difficult issue during church functions.

> I'd expected all the church women to be excited enough to staff a nursery. My husband took care of the baby during church. It got so bad that he was still teaching Sunday School, which was fourth-, fifth- and sixth-graders, and he taught it with the infant seat on the table. They wouldn't even take care of the baby while he taught their kids in Sunday School class.

In her present situation, things have much improved, as evidenced in her responses to questions about satisfactions and rewards. Yet, in comparison to her ideal image of mothering, she senses her hope to do better.

> I feel that the church is a rival for my kids' attention. I don't get enough time with my kids. I always am trying to make that up. In some ways, I am. But I'm always feeling that I'm not spending as much time with them as I should be. I know that everyone feels that way! It's not a rational kind of feeling.

For some women the stresses impinge on the marriage rather than on the dual-career-parenting roles.

Kate Barnett felt her marital relationship was her greatest stress because her husband's job was very demanding. And, yet, she thought her newly-defined career as the pastor of a small rural church near her home helped her to cope with it.

Previously, as a mother of three young children and primarily at home, Kate felt that, by not working outside the home in remunerated employment, she was contributing to the work addiction of her husband. Now, by bringing in a contributing income, she sees that there are issues apart from her role as stay-at-home mother.

Eileen Clarke identified one source of stress in her first job as a minister after seminary. She felt that she did not allow herself sufficient time for a job search because of financial pressures. She finally accepted a very demanding job in a large church when her children were still fairly young.

> We were down in Aslan Falls, which is a very fast-paced, competitive church, a church with thee clergy staff. And the girls were in first and third grades. I felt that we had meetings almost every night of the week. So, when I was home, I felt like I should be at church, and when I was at church, I felt like I should be at home. Time and money were the two biggest crunches. . . . [Managing a family] wasn't feasible on one income. . . . That was a hard time.

Even now, in a small parish with a lower income but with parish housing, times are still difficult for Eileen. Her ex-husband is not a regular source of support for the children, and she usually supplements her part-time ministry position with other part-time jobs.

The "part-time" description of the ministry of some of the women is a misnomer, especially if they are the only clergyperson on staff. The plus side is the flexibility of the position and, if a parish house is included, the desirability of having the children nearby, which will be examined in some detail under the theme of "Rewards and Satisfactions." The negative side is a sense of always being "on call," and unending rounds of meetings that most typically occur in the evening.

Eileen identified this expectation as one of the "hard" spots in being a minister and mother.

> I'm almost never "off." I'm almost always "on" as a public figure. And there are different expectations of them [the children]. Then I have evening meetings. And some of them I just cannot avoid--that's just how church schedules work. I'm fairly busy, and I think that may impact negatively. I worry about it impacting negatively, but they've been able to handle it, given time.

Dorothy Crowley, one of the six women whose husband was also a minister, recalled a similar sense of "always being on," particularly when her children, now grown, were younger and she and her husband were both involved in parish work in different parishes.

> I would say, the only drawback I can think of, as we continued to live this lifestyle, was having to be on call all the time. And whether I was called or not, there was always that sense that, no matter what happened, the 'phone could ring and there could be a crisis. I could be needed. I think there were many times that was especially burdensome. Because both my husband and myself served small membership churches in those years, we didn't have dual staff. Although there were circumstances where I might be able to spell him in my church setting, or he me, obviously as a family we were restricted. So, the only time we could be a family, in the very full sense of being totally with each other, was when we were away. You know, when we actually packed it in and left town. So, that was difficult. . . . Although most of the advantages outweigh [this difficulty]: the fact that I could be a parent; I could be there when the children were going and coming from school; you know, I could almost always be available. Still, there were those times when it became very noticeable that we had an allegiance that would override anything else, and that made for some difficulty. I know in the years since the children have mentioned that. That they always felt that, even though they felt very important and affirmed in the family, that the 'phone would ring and that would be it--the priorities would be clear.

Another woman, whose daughters are now grown, had entered the ministry early in her denominations' acceptance of women in that role. Her children were then school-aged. She looked back at that time and recalled the difficulties involved.

> I think, at the point of my ordination, when I began to do a lot of serious work in the parish and people would come to my house to talk, I have an image of pushing the children away a lot. Telling them not to come in because I'm doing something important. It felt terribly important to me to be available to people who wanted to speak to me and my children were, had to be, easily shoved aside. And I carry guilt about that, in retrospect.

Several of the women interviewed mentioned a conscious concern to protect their children from the stresses and expectations of being "Preacher's Kids," or "P.K.'s," as they are known in the profession and in some of the literature on clergy families. A few had been in the role themselves, or their husbands or friends had been, and experiences of a very public life, high behavioral expectations, intense church involvement, inundation in religion, being spoken about or even to from the pulpit, and always coming second with their fathers who were clergy, were pressures they wanted to spare their children. Ruth Miller, who is the mother of a two-and-a-half-year-old daughter, was told by a congregant that her daughter was so well-behaved that "she was the perfect rabbi's child."

Leslie Chase was one of the ministers who expressed this.

> I worry about what the cost of me serving in the church is for my family, and I have this image of "The Pastor's Kids" being terrors, of stories from my husband of how awful it was to be a P.K., and I just want to protect them, and I've made career choices based on how church was for my kids, on account of that I feel like I need to make excuses for them all the time. Excuses for myself, "I don't want to do that because I don't want them to have a bad experience of the church."

Leslie spoke of an incident when her then-five-year-old son was on his way to a birthday party when they stopped off at a church tag sale and Leslie was occupied by a person in distress who needed money. She wound up spending a lot of time talking to this person, and her son was late for his party and very angry.

> Because he didn't understand that, I said, "Well, this person really needed to talk right now, and because I'm a minister, I have to help him. I'm sorry if that infringed on your time." And he bought it, but he was really ticked. And it was the first time when I really had to put him off in order to meet a need of the church. I've tried to protect myself from being in that situation, but this was very unexpected.
>
> Because my husband was a pastor's kid, he's very sensitive to those kinds of things. He is a very good watchdog for me. He tries to find out when it's happening. He did that frequently in July because the pastor was on vacation and I was working full-time and it was the first time that I had ever worked full-time with two kids. He was quick to point out where he thought the kids were feeling neglected, and it was feeling too much like his dad. . . . Bill tells horror stories, of his dad reprimanding him from the pulpit on Sunday mornings! "Bill, you sit still, or I'm going to ground you for a week!" And it wasn't even him! It was all the other high school kids that his dad couldn't say anything to, so his dad picked on him.

Emily Lewis stated that she was careful not to let people in the congregation single out her children as "rabbi's kids": "I discourage them from saying, 'Oh, well, Steven is the Rabbi's kid, so he can do this'."

Susan Stanley's first response to the points of stress and challenge in these dual-role expectations was to describe the need to question these expectations of consistent congregational priority and to find new models for effective ministry to people's needs.

> I think what is challenging for me is trying to change the models--not trying to live up to them but trying to change them. One of the questions asked is, "How do you do it with your children?" "What do you do if someone calls you out in the middle of the night?" "How can you be on call twenty-four hours a day?" Or, "How can you put your parishoners first?" I try to say that I'm not sure that that's the model of the ministry that we want to have. The challenge, for me, is to try to say, "I don't have to have this old authoritarian image which puts everything else aside and tries to 'MOTHER,' if you will, the parishoners before everything else." The challenge, for me, is to say that we need a new model that allows women and men to be parents to their children. Not necessarily to put their families always first, but to put those things first that are going to allow them to be whole human beings in family, community and parish.

Joanne Richard, who is part of a dual-clergy couple, sounded a similar theme with regard to the impact of parenting on her ministry.

> . . . As the child of two ministers, it is very important for Rebecca to know that she has validity, her needs have validity and the church does not always come first. I think becoming a parent had a positive impact on the church and also had a positive impact on me.
> . . . We know a number of P.K.s . . . and one of the things I said early in my pregnancy was that I don't want this kid to come to hate the church because it takes us away and because she is always second to it. The feedback we had gotten from adults who had gone through the "P.K." experience was that they always felt that--[it was always Dad]--always felt that everyone else in the world was more important than they were to Dad. And, the odd thing is, what does that teach a child about God and God's love if your own parent has no time for you? I decided that it was a message I don't want to give.

For many of the women, finding the right balance and determining priorities between family and congregational responsibilities was especially challenging. Emily Lewis discussed the desire to be able to totally devote herself to both roles.

> It's always hard and challenging. It's very hard just to come up with a few things. Every day it's hard and challenging to do both. . . . There are always things I'd like to be available to do with my kids that I can't do because I have obligations somewhere else. Sometimes there are things--more so now because I'm making more time for my family in the last couple of years, but more so now--there are some times when I'd like to be doing more things for the synagogue, which I can't do because of the kids. I've chosen to give the kids more priority than they used to have, so now there are things that I'm not able to do at the synagogue. I'd like to be able to teach an extra class on Sunday nights or do something, but I can't do those things. I'd like to be able to totally devote myself to both of them, but there aren't two of me.

Emily tries to resolve the competing demands of both roles by careful scheduling. In the fall, she figures out her children's schedules and activities and puts those into place. Around this schedule, she plans in whatever afternoon meetings have to be set up for the year, such as tutoring bar/bat mitzvah students. Once she has set up this schedule, the events and commitments of the synagogue, and her responsibilities as Rabbi, take precedence.

> The basic things I have to do as a rabbi, that I'm required to do, always take precedence over the kids, Because, no matter what the kid wants to do on Friday night, I'm going to be at services, and it doesn't matter what they want to do on an afternoon when I have to tutor bar mitzvah kids, I'm going to tutor bar mitzvah kids. . . . Once the schedule for the year is set, anything that comes up with the kids gets the lower priority.

Leslie felt her response to the question of how she prioritized revealed sexist assumptions about women's roles or perhaps the lack of family expectations on the roles of men.

> Naturally, your family is much higher on your list of priorities than on that of traditional male ministers. I left my first church basically because I was not going to do that to my family anymore. I left my second church for the same

> reason--when it became clear that nothing was going to change. I was not going to have my family's spiritual life suffer because of my job. . . . Now, granted, I could only do that because my husband had a job, and financially I had the freedom to do that. So, the freedom of being a woman in that kind of situation was that I could do that. But, I can honestly say that, without a doubt, I'd do it if the same thing were true today. My husband would, too. He would be completely comfortable to move with me or to leave his job or to be unemployed if it meant supporting me in a position, or if things got so bad for him that he needed out. I would do the same for him. I think I just tend to, like, for a lot of reasons, to have the freedom to put my family first. I like to think that, if I were alone with my kids, and even my finances were in jeopardy, I would still put my family first. I still think I tend to put relationships before jobs, professions, and that men put professions before relationships.

Eileen Clarke talked about the need for flexibility in sorting out the priorities in terms of the competing family and congregational demands.

> It is not always one or the other. There are job demands when the children have to wait. For example, when there is a trustee meeting, or a bylaws meeting, or a congregational meeting. When there is something that is scheduled, that has to do on. That takes precedence over the children, unless the children have an emergency., But if there is a conversation with somebody, like a pastoral call, or a hospital call, and I can do something with them and then I can do the other. I have a lot of flexibility in working things out. And I take the children along with me to the hospital. They go along with me visiting sometimes. They used to always go along with me. Now they don't, as much. They went to chapel with me and then to class in seminary. And people said they should have gotten small diplomas when I graduated! As they get older, I combine less.

Nancy Rogers, as the mother of an eleven-week-old daughter, Amanda, was just beginning to find some balance in her dual-career demands.

Yes, there are definitely things that are harder now or more stressful, there's no doubt about it. When you're a pastor, when you're in a church, life is kind of crazy, anyway. I mean, none of my days is ever the same. Every day is different. And I like it that way, otherwise I wouldn't be very happy doing this kind of work. I think that Amanda has simply compounded that problem. She's made it even more up for grabs. Because you can't schedule things. I can schedule myself somewhat, when I'm by myself, but, when I'm adding her into the equation, it's even more difficult. But, as she's getting older and I'm getting a little more proficient as a parent, I'm figuring out what a good rhythm is for the day. So, I think scheduling is a problem. At the moment, she is with me all the time. Except, for instance, I had a funeral this morning, and this woman babysat for Amanda, which is great.

I find that I have to schedule things even more exactly and call on people to do things for me even more. One of the things I do is call on people to get them to do this and that. Now, I have to call on them to babysit for Amanda as well. So, it's sort of more of the same, and it's frustrating. It's definitely frustrating, especially when I've always tried to time things very closely, and it's very difficult to do that with a baby. Because she could spit up all over everything, or poop all of a sudden. It just kind of adds the unknown to a day that's already kind of crazy to begin with. . . .

I remember having a real tough day or two at the very beginning and thinking I'll never be able to balance this or handle it. But, as she's gotten a little bit older, I've gotten a little more proficient, it's worked out pretty well.

Nancy has had to undergo some changes in herself, in terms of her professional image and the demands she makes on herself professionally in terms of organization, time management and even appearance.

I would say, expectations to get things done, or to be in a certain place at a certain time, when those are thwarted, that's very stressful for me because I think of myself as professional. I remember going to a news conference that the mayor had called on Question 3, and I tried to dress professionally, but I had this child strapped to myself and the front of my outfit was just covered in white fuzz. And you know, your children just strip away whatever pretense of dignity you might have had. It was pretty funny, actually.

A similar comment was made by Dorothy Crowley about the experience and challenge, now seen as a gift, of having gone through her daughter's adolescent years. She felt that the teenage girl's perception of her mother is a perception that can be shattering at the time, but which leads to a sense of objectivity about the self. This experience of being a mother to adolescent girls allows one to drop more ego, pretense and persona, according to Dorothy: "They provided me this opportunity to know how ordinary I was, and this was a real gift."

Financial stresses were also described by a few women as a difficult issue in their dual roles, as well as the stress of negotiating contracts around issues of money.

Ruth Miller felt this was the most stressful issue for her.

> The most stressful part of it for me is knowing that I have to earn a living in order to pay [bills], in order to keep my family together, and that's been very hard, it's the most stressful part. And, as a result of that, I have some anxiety that, the more time I put into my work, the less time I'm spending with my daughter. Always going through that. Mostly, it comes to an issue when I'm taking weddings. How many weddings should I take? And, if my husband has to work on Sunday afternoon and we have to get a babysitter, that's really the worst, but, in many ways, it's been a satisfying combination.

Jill Brooks, a part-time minister whose hours have been cut back because of financial struggles within her parish, is married to a minister who serves a different parish in a traditionally depressed economic area of the state. Jill also identified issues of money as the greatest source of stress in her dual role as parent and clergywoman.

> Money is a real big struggle. You've probably heard this before, but, you know my husband hasn't seen a raise in three years, because Spradley is the most depressed area in the state. We now have the eighth primary bread winner in the parish who has been laid off. And these are not parishes where the women are employed. The finances just are a struggle. The job just doesn't pay what it should pay and, personally, I tend to have a real big mouth on that subject. . . . I think, somehow, we have to hold up to people, as do teachers, the value of what we offer a society. You know, to pay a baseball player a million dollars and a full-time pastor $23,000 isn't right.
>
> I tend to be very outspoken about that, and, perhaps, I lack humility, I'm not sure. I wonder whether it's simply that I should have more dedication or humility, or whatever, but I think it's a justice issue and I think the more we help people be aware of the kinds of financial struggles that are present in a lot of clergy households, the more they will not want to do that to their pastors.
>
> [The clergy of my denomination in this area] have gone through some terrible times in terms of marriage in the last five years. I don't believe that people want someone that they value as much as their pastor to go through that. I think they just don't know. And that's because we haven't been very up front with them, or make them feel guilty and I think we just allow it to continue in some ways. . . .
>
> . . . I fluctuate between being very angry about that and liking the work enough that I stay with it. The truth is that most of my anger about money gets expressed in the direction of home or my husband. I tend to back off a little when it comes to expressing it to the congregation and that may be what's happening for a lot of years.

Other stresses identified by the participants includec the difficulties of maintaining the pace and evening schedule in the first and last trimester of pregnancy and in early infancy. The constant tiredness that goes with those stage of having a baby was difficulty to manage and self-expectations about performance of clergy functions had to be modified. A supportive spouse, in one case a co-minister, and a nearby parsonage were factors that helped to make those stresses more manageable.

Seasonal stresses and demands are very much a part of being a priest, minister or rabbi, although the seasons are different.

For Ruth Miller, as a rabbi, the biggest pressures come in the fall when the most sacred holy days of the Jewish cycle are celebrated: Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. Many people come to temple on those days, and the services are long and require a lot of preparation and time. For Jewish families in the Northeast, the fall and spring are preferred times for Bar/Bat Mitzvahs. All of this, plus the usual business of many houses of worship in setting up religious education programs, committees, calendars for the years, etc., in September, make this a particularly stressful time for a rabbi.

Christian ministers experience the most demanding parts of their cycles at Christmas and during Holy week. Since Christmas combines with all the cultural expectations for that time of year, and is particularly a time of stress for many families, the dual roles may be especially felt then.

Claire Cook, as a minister and stepparent of two children and the legal guardian of a third, spoke about the difficulties of separating out which stresses were part of being a stepparent and which might be similar for any clergywoman who was a mother.

> Well, it's hard for me to separate out the stresses of being a stepparent, and I would guess that some of the stresses for parents who are clergywomen are similar. Holiday times are very difficult because I work. For example, Christmas Eve is just

> stressful. I mean, a lot of stress that we feel at Christmas is from sharing children, but some stress is due to the fact that I can never sit with my family at Christmas Eve service. I can never sit with my family at Easter service. I always have to be around on Thanksgiving Eve because there is a worship service. I cannot go to a relative's house far away and stay overnight. The same on Christmas Eve. Those are very stressful times. It is difficult to have a family and only a twenty-four-hour weekend, because of Sunday obligations. That's really tough. It's tough to go out for evening meetings, especially when the kids were very young and I was just learning to do this thing called parenting. I was exhausted by dinnertime and had to go out for evening meetings. And it wasn't very long after we were married that the kids said, "why do you have to go out at night?" And that was hard. It gets easier the older the kids get, because they have their own responsibilities and obligations and they simply don't need the evening time.

Similar to seasonal cycles and stress are the demands of the academic year combined with the Christian liturgical year for those in school and college chaplaincies. Marty Davis spoke of those particular stresses.

> I think that the biggest stress and the one we've decided we just have to live with is that the job is just enormous. It's a job that you can never feel is complete. And, I guess maybe so many jobs are that way. We find it so hard even to kind of take much joy in things that are accomplished and go well, before you're already jumping into the next thing. I mean, it's partly the whole thing, not only of the momentum of the academic year. . . . But what I regret is that there's so little time to savor things that really are pretty remarkable and enriching in themselves. . . .
>
> But the stress is, I feel, this almost relentless pace of life, and then you add to that the invariable crises. That, plus being chaplains, people expect you to, and, in part, it's self-imposed, but we work very hard to maintain an air that invites people to share their burdens with us, and to be pretty even-keeled ourselves and pretty positive. So, that's pretty hard to maintain sometimes, and add to that that you are often feeling that the better we do in the job, the more the job grows, and it's sort of self-defeating--the more we do, the more demands are being made.

Some women discussed the difficulties of working alone professionally, if they were the only clergyperson in the parish. On the other hand, one woman identified her greatest stress as being in the same profession as her husband; while yet another considered the dual-career clergy pattern to be the best possible arrangement for her.

Perhaps the most extreme examples of stressful situations were mentioned by two women who received death threats at the time of their ordinations in a denomination previously closed to the ordination of women.

Satisfactions, Rewards and Fulfillment in the Dual Role of Mother and Clergywoman

Stress, difficulty and challenge are not the only aspects of this dual role. In fact, all of the women in this study found the rewards and sense of fulfillment to outweigh the difficulties and it is particularly important to consider the sense of satisfaction women obtain from their work and from their family roles.

Often, the literature on mothers who work outside the home emphasizes the negative, stressful and harried aspects.

As we have seen, this is quite real. However, to consider only this set of experiences, or to put undue emphasis on them, can overshadow the positive developmental processes and outcomes from which women and the rest of society benefit.

The following excerpts from the interviews present the rewards, satisfactions and sense of fulfillment these women have found in their dual-career roles.

Several women shared a special sense of sacredness during their pregnancies, and a fuller image of what Mary, incarnation or the birth of the divine child was about.

Leslie Chase shared the following example.

> I was obviously pregnant over Christmas. Spiritually, it was really exciting to look at the Magnificat, and the idea of joy over Mary and Elizabeth and their pregnancies. That whole part of the Christmas story was really wonderful. I don't know if the church picked up, but that was a really fulfilling time for me. The whole idea of being pregnant and having a child I found really fulfilling in the ministry of the church. The kids, you know, were gorgeous. It was really neat. I've always been gifted with dealing with children and worship. It just intensified that. It was a really special time.

Joanne Richards also found her pregnancy to be spiritually meaningful.

> The year I was pregnant with Rebecca, I preached Advent and I explained to the congregation that, for the first time, I had a real understanding of the Incarnation. I was carrying within me another being who depended on me to carry her healthily, and yet she was separate from me. She was not me, and that helped me understand for the first time what it means to carry God within. I think, up until that point, if you had asked me to describe God, most of my words would have tended toward the transcendent and, since then, the tended toward the incarnate. . . . Different people have trouble relating to the different persons of the Trinity. The person I had trouble with was Jesus. I had a great deal of difficulty fitting him into my theology. I understood the Holy Spirit fine. I understood God the Creator fine. But fitting in that incarnation was very tricky for me. When I was pregnant, it stopped being tricky.
>
> It is still a little tricky to describe it sometimes [particularly to men], but I have no trouble with women who've

experienced a pregnancy. The first time I used that image, it was the Sunday that the Magnificat was one of the lessons. I saw for the first time who Mary was and the experience she went through. The idea of carrying God became real for me. And, of course, that is what we are asked to do: to incarnate God--that is what I understand being a spiritual person to be.

That doesn't take away from who Jesus was, at all, for me. It seems to me that he showed us how to carry out a task, that we had been given long before his birth, a task that we didn't really understand. Suddenly, that task became very concrete to me.

Everything I do focuses toward helping people to understand what it means to incarnate God. In the beginning of my ministry, I understood God as creator in a hierarchical image, not in a negative sense, but in the sense of the alpha and omega, being the beginning and the end. Now, I come back to the idea of modeling because I think that is what our relationship and task is all about.

When asked to identify times in her dual role as mother and clergywoman that she found particularly rewarding, Susan Stanley also described the spiritual aspects of pregnancy and birth.

Well, I guess it's rewarding to me in the spiritual sense. I was pregnant with Sarah during Christmas. It certainly put a whole new perspective on what motherhood was and on the whole sense of what it meant to be heavy with child.

And, also, when she was born. She was supposed to be born on Palm Sunday, I think, but she was a week and a day late, so, therefore, I was almost in labor on Easter Sunday, but it was a blur. I really have no recall. I mean, I remember it, but it was the next day, in which I was in labor, that I really felt an experience of crucifixion and of resurrection in an unbelievable sense. So, I think, spiritually, that has been broadening and deepening for me as well as a new way of praying, in the sense of not having time to do what I used to be able to do, you know, from six to seven in the morning. I sort of grieve that sometimes, I mean, often, that I don't have the time I used to have.

But, I also have a new sense of the reality of prayer, and of it being much more difficult than it was before. I think my prayer was in my head before I had children. Now, it's in my arms, my heart and my daily life, all that sort of stuff.

> But, then, again, I need to be really clear, that that didn't have anything to do with being [clergy] as much as it has to do with just being a Christian and trying to live that out on a daily basis.

The physical realities of pregnancy and birth and the sexuality it represents--embodiment (a term used in theological literature for these dimensions of a physical spiritual experience)--were described by several women in these interviews.

Dorothy Crowley used this imagery in describing how being a woman and a mother influenced her style of enabling people to experience the sacred.

> I've found that I'm more and more using stories about my children and things they've said as parallels to what someone else has said and as connectors. I also think that giving birth, unless it is absolutely boxed and capped, is a way of being geographically in touch with one's own body and the animal quality of human existence in the deepest, best sense. And enabling people, no matter what their orientation, to take on their bodies and their sexuality and their passions as part of their goodness is related to having given birth and living in their families in ways which are not probably described very neatly.

Marianne Morgan also introduced the physical realities of childbirth as analogous to spiritual birth and development in her response to the question of the impact of being a woman and mother on what she might symbolize to her congregation.

> I don't know. I don't know what difference there would be for a woman who has not had children and one who has. For me, I wouldn't have been the same person if I hadn't had the teaching of my children. . . . I wouldn't have known about love in quite the same way, and I would have found another pathway to that. It couldn't possibly be the only way, but there is something pretty graphic about understanding the birth process of the human soul and having experienced it physically with my body.

> Which is like a demonstration of the larger picture--which is what we're always trying to do is to birth ourselves into another place, into God, so I suppose it has made a difference.

Susan Stanley also identified important sexual aspects of the dual image of mother and clergywoman.

> On a different sort of level, in between the time that we talked, I was talking to another woman about the whole issue of priesthood and motherhood. She and I were saying that, isn't it interesting that [there are] two . . . things that really make it clear in this day and age that we are sexual beings. For women, it is being pregnant and being a priest. I mean, it just sort of hits you. You're right in front. And, in fact, all of the denial of sexuality that's gone on in the church is shot when you've got this pregnant priest up there.
>
> And the other piece is, though this doesn't relate to the family, what's really interesting is that what makes sexuality really right up there for men is AIDS. I find it very strange that we have pregnancy on one hand and AIDS on the other. It's sort of the giving of life and the pronouncement of death right in there. But the priesthood and sexuality issue is brought to the fore when you've got parenthood. In fact, it's really motherhood that's made that come up. That's a very positive thing, I think, for the church because it has brought issues out into the open with which they have been dealing in the past.

Not everyone felt that the images of sexuality and spirituality fit them, especially when projected by other people. Ruth Miller discussed some of these concerns with regard to the question about her experience of pregnancy.

> I'm pretty aware that most people don't notice that you are female until you have a baby. It just makes sexuality very present and people express that in all kinds of funny ways and usually it's in cute remarks. . . . There are plenty of people who go to the extreme and say, "Oh, isn't it wonderful that you have a pregnant rabbi. It's such a wonderful symbol." It's a real sense of earth mother, and I find that it's almost too much. . . . That's a response to discomfort as much as anything.

> There was just this one person who made this remark about how wonderful it would be to have the rabbi nursing, and what a wonderful image that is for Judaism. And I didn't want to nurse in public for the sake of Judaism.

Several woman spoke of the transformations that having children brought about in themselves in relation to other people.

Emily Lewis found that becoming a parent had a positive impact on her role as rabbi.

> It impacted in ways of things I learned that changed how I was as a person in my rabbinate, and then impacted in practical ways. I think the most important ones were the ways in which it changed how I looked at things. And I think I had a lot of qualities before I had kids that were similar to the ones that were sort of heightened after I had children--you know, nurturing and listening.
>
> I was always good working with little children, but, as my kids would go through the age, I would learn more about that age and in the part of my rabbinate where I deal with children it was certainly helpful. It slowed me down a lot in a good way, having children. With children you have to have patience and take your time. And, learning that at home helped me have more of that at the synagogue. It also brought out some problems I had. Personal problems I had when I had children. You know, dealing with them was intense. Much more intense, I think, in the family, and some of that carried over into some of my stuff at the synagogue, and eventually precipitated my doing something about the extremes of my personality, so it helped in lots of ways. I think I was already pretty aware of different learning styles among people, so, even though I observed that in my children, I think I already knew a lot of that. . . .
>
> I think my rabbinate was very much changed because I learned to see priorities in things other than my rabbinic work., My marriage helped me to do that a little bit, and my children helped me to do that even more. And, I think that's helped my rabbinate. It's helped that my rabbinate isn't so intense. It isn't the complete focus of what I do. It's better for the congregants.

Susan Stanley was also able to identify some positive changes that having children brought about in her ministerial roles.

I think, too . . . that the experience of having children has made me a much better counselor. That's not something I want to do all the time. I mean, that's not my primary focus in ministry, but it's made me much less judgmental about anything. . . . I remember sitting down on a number of occasions, and thinking to myself, "Mother, all is forgiven. All is forgiven!" That sort of thing, but I think it has helped me also in being able to listen to people better. I'm not by nature a particularly patient person, and, you know, motherhood, parenthood, enforces that, I think. And, so, I think, that has, in a very real way, really helped me to be a little less judgmental and to really listen to people and be outside of myself, and say, "You don't think like I think. It's OK." Before I lived with children, I think one of the major difference was that I lived as a sort of intellectual type who loved to think and read, and I loved much more in my head. But, the fact of having children, and being pregnant first . . . it really forces you into your body.

Joanne Richard articulated in some detail the new-found respect for people very different from herself that she developed from parenting, and how working with parishoners has helped her parenting. She described how she discovered new abilities that stretched her beyond what she saw as limits in her interactions with others. For Joanne, this was one of the greatest rewards of her dual career as mother and minister. When asked what the rewards were in these roles, she replied as follows.

> They're immense. I don't think I would be nearly the minister I am if it weren't for being a mother, and I think I've learned a lot of things in the parish that I can apply to mothering. I've learned to let people make their own mistakes. And it's easier to learn that with grownups than it is with children.
>
> But, well, let me backtrack for a second. I think that something that makes a vast difference to me is that my daughter is--are you familiar with Myers-Briggs? As far as types go, she is about as opposite a type to me as you can get. So, one of the things that I learned, even when she was in utero, was that she was her own person. By the time she was born, she had a very distinct personality. . . . It was not my personality, and

I learned very early that she was not an extension of me. I always saw her as herself.

That helps me in the parish, because I don't see the parishoners as my parishoners--as part of my church. I see them as a group of individuals who come together voluntarily. . . . Working to heal sometimes or working to encourage sometimes is something I don't think I would have done as well had I not had this growing infant as a twenty-four-hour-a-day practice in letting people be their own people, and vice-versa.

What I do in the parish I then turn around and apply to my child, which isn't to say that I don't feel that I'm a mother who disciplines, and puts the boundaries on, and all that kind of stuff. She's a child, and they're adults. There is a difference. But looking at all the different ways different people behave, and seeing them as adults, and looking at Rebecca as a very different type from myself, and saying, "Well, here are these people who are the same type that she is, and they're perfectly fine people. I can afford to let her grow into one of these people. She's going to be quite confident and a very good person. . . . So, the rewards. . . . It's been an immeasurable gift to me because it's part of my maturing spirituality.

> I am very much a controlling person, very much an ordered person, in charge of things. I'm very confident. I'm very capable. I can do most organizational things faster, easier, and, to my mind, better than most of the other people in the parish. Fine--but that's not what ministry is about. And, so, my parenting and my ministry, working together, have helped me grow from beyond those needs and issues in myself to be in control. Rebecca is my miracle child. I didn't know that I would ever be able to get pregnant and carry children to term. She is my miracle and she is a miracle to me spiritually, too.

Eileen Clark also spoke of the strengths that being a parent brought to her ministry.

> Part of my motivation in seeking the paid profession of ministry was that I had to be able to support the girls. I'm glad to be able to do it that way. I would have more available energy and free time to devote to the church if I were not a parent, but my life would be less satisfying. It would be much less satisfying. It would be fine for some people, but it would not be fine for me. Being a mother is part of the heart of who I am . . . and I think that is a gift that I bring to [the ministry].

And Claire Cook discussed some of the similarities in both roles.

> I think a lot of parish ministry is nurturing. It's ninety-nine percent of what I do, that I nurture, and I've discovered that's what parenting is, too, so I think both are part of trying to enable people to be the human beings that they are created to be. So that the skills that are required are really similar.

One of the most commonly identified satisfactions in the dual role of mother and clergywoman was the degree of flexibility in the schedule, which was the other side of the constant sense of being on call, the particular stress of seasonal demands and the constant pace of the clergy's typical work week. Flexibility was more often cited by those women who worked part-time, but even full-time clergywomen spoke positively of having some control over when they did things apart from the set ritual demands of their denominations.

Eileen Clark is one of the "part-time" clergy who serves a small parish. Her position comes with a parsonage next door. As a single mother raising school-aged children, Eileen found this arrangement to have worked out well for her.

> The plus is that I have a profession that I really care about, that I can address myself in, and, I think, in terms of job satisfaction, I am a good role model. I am also more accessible during the day when I get home than I would be in a lot of jobs. I am always here when they leave in the morning, and I'm often here when they are home. And, if they are doing special things at school, I can arrange my schedule around it. So, the job is satisfying to me. It has built-in flexibility.

Kate Barnett has been able to arrange her part-time schedule at the church so that, weekdays, she can see her children off to school in the morning and be back in time to meet the school bus in the afternoon. Her husband is home most evenings, so that covers the nighttime meetings.

Claire Cook, a full-time minister in a good-sized church, also identified flexibility as one of the definite pluses in combining ministry and parenthood.

> Well, the flexibility is certainly one thing, and that's a great, great advantage, I can plan my weekday time to some extent, so that I can make room in my schedule to watch Jim coach volleyball, or watch Jason play it, or, if I'm in the Boston area for a meeting, I can take the time to have lunch with Annette at the college. There are definite advantages to the flexibility, there's no doubt about it, and I think that's part of the greatest advantage. I also think that how I've chosen to spend my years in a profession has given the kids a real good example of what it means to give your life away in a vocation that is always doing things for other people. And I think that's been real good.

For women who had babies and young children, the provision of a parsonage next door was supportive of their attempts to combine the responsibilities of their roles.

Nancy Rogers didn't like living in a parsonage right next door before she had a baby. As the mother of an eleven-week-old baby, she now finds it a "godsend."

It can be like living in a "goldfish bowl," and privacy needs become more important as the children get older. Also, parishoners can get picky about the upkeep of the property.

However, Eileen Clark found having a parish home a big advantage, particularly as a single mother of two young daughters.

> When we first moved here, and the children were little, they sometimes came over in their nightgowns and told me "goodnight," or whatever. Or, if there was something, we have a buzzer, and if I'm over in the house and someone needs me over here, they can ring the buzzer. Or, if I'm over here at a meeting and the children need me in the house, they can ring the buzzer. And that is more than most ministers have.

Elaine Marshall, also the mother of an infant as well as a preschooler, found that the parsonage right next door was a big advantage for her most of the time. It allows her to have lunch with her family most days and for her daughter to visit her in the office at times. She is also close by for the baby and she was able to get a bit more rest during the tiring times of her pregnancy because the house is right there.

Most women spoke positively about the variety in their work and lives, and about never being bored, with no two weeks ever being alike.

Eileen Crocker stated that she liked the juggling she had to do when her children were young and she was a parish minister. This management of multiple demands was something she actually found satisfying. Now, in a very different and demanding ministry, she finds that she uses those "juggling" skills she acquired as a mother who also worked as a minister.

> There was the constant struggle, but I never wished either one of them [the dual roles] to go away. I really liked the juggling, to tell you the truth. There was an important part of me that was really challenged by that, because I knew that the other option would be to negotiate an important part of myself and I wasn't prepared to do that. . . . If I had put one or

> the other [role] on hold, I don't think at that particular time in my life it would have been appropriate. I needed to do both, and I think each was enhanced by the other. . . . Part of this particular position here, now, is a lot easier for me because I had to deal with a lot of different roles, and I do here as well, but I carry with me--if you would call it--a style, that comes out of that. It's a very familial one.

Elaine Marshall, as a mother of a baby and a preschooler, and a full-time minister, is right in the midst of that "juggling" now. Asked what it was about her dual roles that she found particularly fulfilling, Elaine replied as follows.

> Well, coming back to work [from maternity leave] and seeing that it works. Right now, it feels good that I can do both successfully. And I like the times when I can sort of overlap and have my children with me while I'm working, at certain points. I feel that there are so many hours in the week and, if I can mesh some of them, then I can do two things at once, and it feels kind of satisfying to do that.

Consistency across roles was another theme described by some of the women in this study.

Asked how she saw her ministerial and parental roles coming together, Eileen Clark described it this way.

> Well, I'm living out what I believe in both of them. And I think I use my woman's voice and my mother's intuition and my nurturing tendencies in both [roles]. When I do youth work, and the kids are involved in it, . . . it gives me the opportunity to have a job where home and work and community are all integrated.
>
> This is a neighborhood church, and I walk around the neighborhood and I talk to members of the boards and people that are sick, and the kids know everybody around the neighborhood, so it's more than in many settings an integrated sense of home, work and the community.

The importance and advantages of community involvement that being a clergyperson has for a family was also mentioned by several women.

Ellen Crocker described it as an extended family.

> I think, across the board, that having an extended family one finds in the church was very advantageous. Because we were away from our immediate family, geographically away from them, it was to our advantage to be surrounded by a lot of nurturing, caring people who became an extended family. And, given my role in ministry, and being the first woman in ministry in whatever setting I served, there always seemed to be this initial response of curiosity followed by this response of affection and genuine caring. So, relationships started up a lot more quickly. I was always conscious of being the pastor in that setting, but it was still very good for me and my family and the children, in particular, having lots of aunties and uncles and cousins. So that was very special.

Ruth Miller mentioned community connectedness among the reward she found in being a mother and a rabbi.

Asked about what in these dual roles she found especially satisfying or fulfilling, Ruth replied as follows.

> Well, there are two parts to it. One, I discovered when my daughter was an infant that I could set boundaries and I could leave my work at home and I could be a parent at home. There really wasn't a lot of crossover. I managed that for maybe a year, a year-and-a-half, and that was wonderful. I really felt that I was being fulfilled in both areas.
>
> That's less so now. My job is more demanding in a lot of ways and more stressful. But the other piece of it that I find really special is that, when I am leading a service, my daughter is there and she's part of the community. She feels comfortable being with me and I feel good that she sees what I do. That's a positive role model for her, and I don't know how many people get to have their kids with them at work. She's with me most of the time that I'm doing my work, and that's a very special time. That gives her good feelings about being Jewish.

Susan Stanley also talked about the importance of community and relationships that working in a parish had for her and her family.

> Even though all of the people in the parish are not families, I think it goes a long way toward the mutuality that I was talking about before. . . . I know that priest kids have always been in Sunday school. . . . But, somehow, they were always the "Preacher's Kids." Somehow, it didn't get connected in the same way when the priest was a man, but it gets connected when the priest is a mother.
>
> My children are at church with me, who is the working mother. . . . They see me being distracted by or relating to my children in the same way that everybody else does. . . . One of the things that happens is that my children have a sense of extended family in a way that they might not have otherwise. And [a sense] of people who feel responsible for them because I can't be a certain times. So, they help me out, they protect me. . . . I would like to think of it as a community, in a way. I don't hesitate to call it "extended family" when it comes to the kinds of extended relationships that I hope my children will be able to have and that I could have as well.

Elaine Marshall talked about the benefits of the support that she and her family received in moving into the community from another part of the country, a kind of support that she felt few other people moving into a new community would find.

Claire Cook also spoke of the advantages for herself and her family in moving into a new community as a pastor.

> If you move into a community as a pastor, you have a whole community of faith to welcome you with open arms, as a whole family. I mean that the kids really felt that, as well as my husband and myself. This is not necessarily true if one is a lay person moving into a community. . . . I mean, it may seem strange for me to say it's an advantage, but it just is, you're right in the center of the community the moment you walk in the door, and the kids are, too. It took them a while to get used to it. They would come home from Sunday School, early in our marriage, and Jason, who was then seven years old, would say, "How come everybody at church knows my name, and I don't know everybody's name?" So, they learned very early what it meant to be P.K.s, and they have lived up to being P.K.s admirably.

Kate Barnett felt that the greatest rewards to combining ministry and motherhood for her were to be found in the excitement

of combining them and in being able to do what she most loved doing in all aspects of her life.

> I think there is a certain excitement about integrating a job with a family. Because of the kind of job that this is, my family gets to participate in my career. I might not feel that way if I ever got to the place where I felt I didn't like it so much. Most of the time, I think, "Isn't it amazing that they are paying me to do this?" I can go over and drink coffee with someone and say, "I'm getting paid to do this." It's just a very great privilege to serve people.

Nancy Rogers also expressed some amazement that she was paid to do things that she felt were actually just part of being a Christian. This is a sentiment that was also expressed by Susan Stanley. Nancy also felt that there were clearly times when her role as a minister was uniquely required by her congregation.

> When I think about the kind of work that I do, I have been very struck by a couple of things. One is that I feel a little bit funny about being paid to be a professional Christian, which is how it strikes me sometimes. In other words, I'm being paid to do things that I might do otherwise already. And that's not entirely true. I wouldn't spend my weeks visiting people if I were working somewhere else. I certainly wouldn't be leading worship on Sunday morning, but most of the things that I do seem so integral to who I am as a person, that I sometimes can't quite understand why people would pay me to do them. . . . I mean, there are some days when it just doesn't make any sense to me. There are other days when it makes a lot of sense. When I'm sitting in the I.C.U. with a family, and I realize that why they are paying me is because they don't want to do it themselves.

Marianne Morgan was another women who spoke of ministerial work as a privilege. Asked what the greatest rewards and satisfactions in her life at present were, Marianne replied,

> Having the privilege of working with people in the areas that are the most powerful in their lives. I mean, birthing and dying and all that comes in between--change points in people's lives, spiritual crisis or challenge.

Meg Davis's work as a chaplain in a private school has provided her and her husband with the opportunity to teach and work as chaplains, and to have their daughter nearby growing up in a supportive community and now have her in attendance in the same school. For Meg, the most rewarding aspect of the roles has been her work with students.

> I still think probably the greatest reward is just the direct contact and interaction with the students. It has been kind of interesting over the years. I know, when I first used to think about what kept us here, part of it was our colleagues and being in a community of people who share a lot of our values and commitments. And that's still a piece of it. . . . But, I think, now, even the thing that continues to sustain me is my teaching. Even though at times I keep thinking that, "Boy, if we didn't have the teaching, how much better chaplains we could be!" Then, I realize what an avenue that is, an inroad to students. . . . It's just very rewarding. I mean, it's hard, too, especially this time of the year, when you have to start letting go of these kids. A lot of them you've worked with are going to graduate. But, I think . . . that's it's still true that this is an age level where so much is really at its formative stages, and, when you're working with kids who, most of whom are away from home, you can become a very powerful --influential, I hope, positive--figure in their lives . . . I often do feel that I've made a difference, and that's what I hold onto. That's what I think is the most rewarding.

Nancy Rogers found that, since the birth of her daughter, her ministry has taken on new meaning. In reply to the question asking her to identify aspects of her dual role as parent and clergywoman that she found particularly fulfilling, Nancy offered the following insights.

> In general, I find both my work and my parenting very fulfilling. I love both . . . I think that one of the things that really struck me--and this even struck me when I was in the hospital--everything that I do as a pastor and as a Christian seems to have been heightened by her presence. I've been heightened by her presence and I've been very involved in peace and justice issues and I wondered how her being with me would affect my work. What I find it to be is, that she makes me work even harder on things that are important to me because there's somebody now who is very connected to me and whose life is part of the future that I am trying, in my own small way, to change, in terms of the politics of this country, or the militarism, or the materialism, or whatever the issue might be.
>
> So, I find myself even more desirous of creating change--in theological terms, to bring the kingdom to earth. Which is very very exciting. I mean, that's wonderful, because I was aware of the fact that a lot of women tend to turn inward when they have children, and I was concerned about that because I can't do that professionally and I didn't know if that would happen to me. I mean, you can't control how you'll react emotionally to things. It's difficult, let's say. So, I've been quite relieved, actually. She seems to make my work even more important, and I didn't know that was possible.

Leslie Chase felt that her experiences as a mother positively affected her ministry and have enabled more of the men in the various clergy groups she is part of to acknowledge their parenthood issues, as well.

> It made me more understanding of the women's issues in the church. It also--just like anything you go through as life-changing as pregnancy or fertility problems or delivery or bringing the baby home--I think that obviously made me a better minister to people going through those things. I had a different understanding of it afterwards. I had a miscarriage, and I think that really empowered me to minister to women who were going through those same things. I'd like to think that it had a positive effect--[in my current job it has] on how the church allows the male minister to be a parent.

> And, in my dealings with clergy groups, I've seen that the guys may share more about their kids when the women ministers are present! I think, in general, women clergy have brought the reality of clergy issues to the congregation. They now acknowledge that male ministers had families all these years, too! We interfered with them being good parents.

For Evelyn Reynolds, some of the most meaningful places where her role as priest and mother came together was during her ordination to the deaconate and, later, to the priesthood. On both occasions, her family played significant parts in the ritual. She recalled these events with fondness and humor.

> Well, I think that one of the loveliest times was when I did get ordained deacon. Let's see, who did what with that. . . . Well, my third son was the crucifer. He was in high school during the really rebellious years. I mean, he had curly hair and he let it grow and grow until it looked like an Afro, and then it looked like a wilted Afro. And he's tall, anyway. So, there he was, with all his hair, carrying the cross in a stately manner. Because there were a lot of people in the service, there were some extra chairs up in the sanctuary. So, he was sitting totally involved in it all, which was sort of lovely, the way he was so involved, with his feet sort of propped up on the altar step. He had on these terrible old sneakers and my friends told me that they had great big holes in the soles. But he was the crucifer, and my two other sons were acolytes and torch-bearers for the Gospel procession, and my daughter and daughter-in-law--who the seventeen-year-old had married by this time--brought up the offering, and Richard, my husband, was one of my lay sponsors.
>
> And, when it came to the charge . . . a professor of pastoral theology and canon law at the seminary, who was the preacher, said, "Oh, Richard! You stand up, too! She couldn't have done it without you!" Which we would now look on as a very sexist remark. But, it was true, really! He had been very supportive and, actually, at the time, that just felt very nice to me, and he took that charge very seriously. You know, it was like he felt part of my profession, and he had a part in it, too. And all the kids were fine about it.

Issues of Authority in the Congregation and Family

Issues of authority emerged as an important theme in these interviews. All of the women interviewed were struggling with how to move away from hierarchical models of congregational or community leadership, and to find ways to empower those with whom they worked in church or in school.

In some denominations, establishing a non-hierarchical model flies in the face of church policy and structure, so change in this area represents a real struggle with both the leadership and the congregation.

In religious bodies where the congregation itself is the chief authority, this is far less of an issue, although tradition has often placed the clergyperson in the odd place of having no recognized hierarchical authority but tremendous leadership responsibilities.

In still other congregations, there is an overt resistance to the traditional authority of the clergyperson, or very ambivalent expectations about where the authority lies.

There were some areas, even for those women who were trying new models of clergy and congregational cooperation, where authority had to be maintained, such as in liturgical practice.

A few women felt that there were issues of asserting authority or having it properly recognized.

Differences in male and female models of leadership were noted by some participants, and the question of whether nurturance and authority were really separate dimensions of their leadership or parenting was raised.

The clergywomen who participated in this study differed in how authority issues as a parent were similar to or different from the authority issues of leading a congregation or community.

Marianne Morgan spoke of her changing notions of what authority meant for her.

> Well, my ideas of authority have changed very radically in the last ten or fifteen years. I was not a strongly authoritarian parent. I was a reasoning one, but also I had very definite limits. Simply, when they were reached and, hopefully, before. I would say, "That's it." I think they were real limits, things I wouldn't tolerate. But maybe, even now, I would tolerate more with my children. In the parish, it's been a challenge, and it's going to go on being a challenge because we have two systems going on at the same time.
>
> A lot of women, myself included, are coming in with a more feminist model of a collaborative way of working. Then you have a hierarchical structure that doesn't work that way at all. So you have obedience words and such around bishop and diocesan [models]. I don't think we yet know how to get those [systems] to work together, or whether they can work together very well. But, in this parish, I've worked very hard at giving away the authority. At the same time, I notice that there are certain things where I hold onto it. I won't let them have full sway . . . with the liturgy, for example.

Evelyn Reynolds also was trying to bring about changes in authority models of the clergy.

> I see a priest as an enabler. I despise clericalism. I loathe it. I don't think that to repudiate that means that you don't live out your own internal authority or do what's been bestowed upon you to do. But, I don't think you can be a very good

priest without a very equal and mutual relationship with the congregation among whom one is trying to be a priest, or is a priest.

While I was doing that interim [ministry], I went to a meeting that really disturbed me. It was a meeting of urban clergy, and the letter that went out gathering the meeting [together] said that it was to be a meeting of the urban clergy to strategize about urban ministry. But, because I'm not used to going to a lot of diocesan clergy meetings, when I go there, I was just so struck by the clericalism in the conversation, and I commented on it. I said, "You know, wouldn't it be nice if we could each bring one or two lay people with us from our congregations?" Thinking that, if you were going to strategize about urban ministry, the clergy can't strategize about urban ministry, for heaven's sake! It's a piddling proportion of the church. And these clergy got very upset, even the women there.

It was like they were feeling burned out and battered and needing support from fellow companion clergy. But, it seemed the reason they were getting burned out was that they were trying to be something other than one of the people of God, if you know what I mean. So, I do think I have a different model of priesthood than some.

Susan Stanley was struggling with similar sentiments.

> Being a priest is not different. It is different from being a baptized Christian, but it's not something above or over. I don't really know how to put it into words, but I'm working very hard at trying to get beyond the hierarchical models that we have had in the past.

Susan responded to the question on differences and similarities in her exercise of authority at home and in the church as follows.

> The issue of authority, I think, is very important. That's an interesting question. I hadn't really thought about the connections. You know, I'm probably less authoritarian at church. There are some choices that my children can make and, hopefully, we as a family have begun to work a little more organically than [I am able to] now in my work, maybe in five years my work would be more organic. I'm not sure that's a good direction to go in now. But, yes, I think I exercise my authority or try to model a new kind of authority at church. An authority which is, oh, I started to say, an enabling one. And now, that has become such a jargonistic word, that, really, I

> don't want to say that. . . . But I almost have a strategy at the church. Which is that, in this parish, people need to feel that they really are made in the image of God and that they have possibility. That they are able to do things in their community, even though they are poor.
>
> I think that's actually what I do with my children, too. If they can come out of childhood saying, "I can do things." You know, "I have wonderful hands and feet," and they can walk and they can do things. So, I think that that's very positive. I think that's one thing. But, as I said, I exercise my authority in some ways strategically at the church by helping people to be in charge of those things and then supporting them in the tasks that they choose to do. I guess I do it a little differently with the children, in the sense that I'm much more directive at this point in their lives.

Joanne Richards was another person who wanted to avoid the jargon, yet get to the heart of what this new model of ministry might be about.

> I hate the term "mutual authority." I don't know why. It's just a buzzword for me that puts my back up. But our whole style of working as ministers is to help the church understand that the church belongs to the congregation. That it is not the minister's gift to the congregation. That it is a growing, living entity that is theirs, and we are part of that, a very particular part of that, but they don't get the church filtered through us. It isn't, "Here's what you will now have of the church--what we give you."
>
> I think, again, that there is something that Rebecca gave me. She doesn't have of life what I gave her. She has her own life, and my purpose as a parent is to shape her environment in such a way that she can find what that life is. I think that's what my life as a minister is, is to shape the spiritual environment in such a way that people can clearly see the direction that they need to be going. It's not to create it and then give it to them. So, I see my authority as something that is empowering me, not as directives to a group of people.

Ruth Miller's description of herself as a rabbi included these ideas of empowering others in the congregation to fully realize their Jewish identity in worship and in the issues that face the Jewish community. For Ruth, as for many of the women

interviewed, there was a struggle between this desire to empower others and her own desires about what they should be about as a congregation.

> This is really an interesting question, because I'm really in a period of intense self-scrutiny and growth. I have a mixed bag of how I see myself and how I function. On the one hand, empowerment is an important part of what I do. Trying to get adult Jews to learn that they can do things that they never though they could do, that they always relegated to the rabbi or other Jewish professionals. . . . And then teaching them little by little and coaching them and working with them. Making them feel good about being Jewish. Helping them feel that the way that they relate to God is okay. Tracking marginal or alienated people and trying to give them a place.
>
> That's one half of what I do, and the other half I see myself as a spiritual leader, a person with vision and an idea of where I want to be particularly in relation to my congregation and my relationship with the group. And, in that case, I'm pretty strong-willed and stubborn in some instances. There are things I think they should do, and it's not through empowerment that I respond. It's through, it's the rabbi side of me, the authentic old-style authority figure who says you have a moral responsibility to do this, and through speaking for the community when there are issues that face the Jewish community as a whole. It's my responsibility to get that across.
>
> In some senses, I have to represent that Jewish tradition, and it becomes . . . well, people don't like that. They want me to be more conciliatory than that, and there are times when I stand firm and say this is what I stand for. This is what I think the tradition stands for. That's been a role that I've been growing into in a number of ways. Seeing myself as a professional and a person of worth, that what I do is every bit as worthwhile as lawyers and doctors. Because, when you're in the empowering business, very often it's effacing.
>
> I have a friend who once described the rabbinate that he wanted was working his way out of a job. You want to get everyone so empowered that they can be doing what you're doing and they don't need you anymore. I think there are things for which you still need a rabbi. So, it's a really difficult balance to maintain. I think on a one-to-one basis, in dealing with individuals in times of personal crisis, that I'm there to

help them find a path that is comfortable for them. And there are times, even, when I'll say, "This is as far as I'll go. You can do what you want, but this is how I'll participate. This is where I'll draw the line. I won't participate in your wedding ceremony, but I'll help you prepare it." That's where I am today.
. . . The similarities and differences I have with what my colleagues do and what I do has more to do with how much trust I have with my congregants and how much leeway I have with them. We have a practice of encouraging members to lead services and to read from the Torah, and these are skills that need to be learned, and everyone who does it does it differently, and there are certain levels of perfection that people have. . . . I often walk the line. Do I correct them, or do I go up to them afterwards and say, now, you are mispronouncing this thing consistently, and you're not aware of it? . . . How much of what I do is teaching? I think I try to do a lot more teaching. And, teaching, because I'm encouraging people and accepting them where they're at . . . rather than, "This is what we do, and it has to be perfect, and so I'm going to do it."

For Leslie Chase, the issue of congregational empowerment was very tied up with her exercise of authority, the ways she tried to resolve conflict and differences she noted in how she approached these issues, in contrast with male ministers with whom she has worked in the past.

> Again, I hesitate to say, "Women do this." I tend not to confront issues of power in the same ways I see male ministers accumulating power. I tend to work out most difficulties in the church one-to-one. If that means making ten calls on ten committee members, privately, I probably would do that rather than have something blow up. I tend to dissipate major conflicts like that, and diffuse them. I don't know if that's the style we use at home. It doesn't come up at home that much . . . but we tend to work things out at home, too. I'm not the kind of person who makes pronoucements, that wants people to jump "that high." I guess some parishoners would say I should confront more.
>
> I don't think women take pastoral authority in the same way men do. A woman's church tends to have a lot of people pulling

their weight and facilitating leadership. The man's church I've tended to see most often, like the man with whom I worked previously, made all the decisions and everybody else just did whatever he said. He didn't delegate at all, and didn't allow people to take leadership other than himself. I don't know that these things are male and female. It may be a change in the focus of the church in general, that congregational policy is beginning to work like it was intended to work. The whole reality movement has come at the same time that I have been serving in the church, so I don't know how much is just that people empower lay people more, or women tend to empower lay people more, or I tend to empower lay people more. But, I think, in general, women just can't deal with--or don't want to deal with--conflict. They want to fix it, nurture it! They tend to worry more about the people involved than the issue involved. And, I think reconciliation tends to happen more in my style of leadership. I've seen my male counterparts feeling like, "If they don't like it, just let 'em leave." And, usually they do, they leave and go to another church. That would be devastating to me! I would do everything I could possibly do, short of compromising the things I believe in, to keep someone in the church. When it's true, I just tend to say, "I blew it, forgive me!"

Eileen Clark also described her approach to the authority role as nurturant both at home and with her parish.

> Actually, my style is to be nourishing and tolerant and loving and accepting. . . . Actually, it's different because the issues are different. With the kids, I am an adult and they are children, so we have very different roles. It is a given that, if they are out of line on something, I just tell them. That's not how you relate to adults! But, in both cases, I am willing to try to get other people to do things. In my house, I am not as good about getting the kids to do things! And that's hard. Sometimes, it takes longer to do things that way. I think my style is more joint with the parish, and that is appropriate. Compared to other parents, I'm pretty democratic. There's a difference.

Emily Lewis also felt that there were differences in how she exercised her authority with her congregation and with her children.

> Oh, yes, big differences. I'm better with the congregation than I am with the kids. . . . I've changed a lot in the last year or two, because I'm changing the way I parent my kids, but, in general, I'm very authoritative with my children, or I used to be, because I was stressed all the time. I got home from work and had to squeeze things in and get out again in the evening. I didn't have time to, like, you know, help them discover how to do things and lead them through it. They're not adults, either, to make all the decisions, so I don't have as much patience with my kids when I'm stressed. With my congregation, I'm much more a facilitator than an autocrat.

Jill Brooks also has to struggle to change her approach to issues of authority at home and in her work.

> I'm much more aware of the importance of the democratic process in my work than I am at home. I know from testing that we received in seminary about leadership style . . . that I tend to operate in a fairly autocratic, almost dictatorial way. That's the proclivity I have and I have to work real hard at not doing that in my work.
>
> Of course, at home, you don't have to work so much harder at all. It is just you and a couple of other people and I think that that's highlighted by the fact that there's just not enough time to get these things done at home. So, it's, like, let's do this now and let's do that now, and you just want to call the shots so that everything can get taken care of.
>
> In your work, and in the parish, the minute you start to do it, you hear about it, and rightly so. At home, it might cause a spat or an argument, but then it's over and you go about being the same authoritative kind of person. . . . I don't feel good about it.

Joanne Richards was one of the clergywomen who believed very much in the empowerment of her congregation, as stated earlier. But, Joanne also felt in matters of liturgy or how the service was to be run, that, after all the input was gathered, the decisions were the clergy's and that was the bottom line. She was also one

of the women who was changing an earlier, more controlling way of handing things.

> I don't look at negotiation the same way I used to before I became a parent and a minister, and those things happened so close together that it's hard for me to sort them out. Negotiation when I was in my twenties was convincing. Convincing other people that my way of doing things was right. That was the goal. Now that I'm almost forty, I understand that the bottom line of negotiation is finding a mutually-acceptable--as much as possible--compromise. You can't always do that. Sometimes people are going to say "No, for the good of the 'whatever,' we are going to step back at this time, and let the other opinion hold sway." But I understand negotiation in a different way than I used to, and, so, some of that comes from working with, living with, growing with Rebecca. And some of it comes from the church, and gets applied to Rebecca.

Claire Cook was another woman who strove to balance nurturance and authority and to mitigate her own more directive leadership style in favor of a more inclusive one.

> That is one of the things I have struggled with a lot--how much leadership initiative to take in local church affairs, where lay ministry needs to be brought forth, also, and lay leadership needs to be nurtured. Because I tend to be a--I tend to know what is right. Honestly, that's the thought and the kind of leader I tend to be. I learn--I have tended to learn through the years to be tolerant of other perspectives. And, now, when somebody will say to me, "You really have a way of seeing all sides of an issue," I really take it as a very high compliment because it has taken a lot of work to get me there. And, if that is the way I am now presenting myself, that is wonderful. Because I will still know that my way is right, but at least I grant that there are other ways of seeing things in the world.

Elaine Marshall sees herself as having a very quiet and non-threatening way of using her authority.

> Well, you can't just say, "Because I say so!" with a congregation. Well, you have to figure out how to say, "Because

> I say so," in a very quiet way, so I don't know. One of the men who is very supportive of me, he is on the pastoral relations committee, has said that he feels that I am able to do that in a committee setting when there's a disagreement. To quietly say, "This is the way it's going to be," without alienating people. That's a real compliment. I'm not sure how I do that. One thing I do with both my daughter and the people here is use that technique where you reflect back what they are saying, so that they know they have been heard in both settings.

Nancy Rogers was another clergywoman who saw her exercise of authority to be one of empowering others. Nancy also felt that one important source of authority came from an inner wholeness and peace, and extending a sense of herself to her congregation.

Yet, Nancy realized during her maternity leave and shortly after her return that there was something that she was offering in terms of leadership, nurturance and authority that her parish missed in her absence.

> In terms of my congregation . . . I don't think I've ever articulated this. I know I do this in terms of the way I feel. It's a very conscious thing on my part. I try very hard not to control, because I don't think you get anywhere with that, anyway. My goal is always to empower people for whatever the task might be. But that doesn't simply mean relinquishing all of the responsibility and saying. "Here, you do it. You know I don't want to have anything to do with you. Go away and do it yourself."
>
> I had a very interesting experience. The church council met one time when I was pregnant, or, actually, when I was on leave and I wasn't there. And, apparently, it was a very trying meeting. It was very stressful. There was a lot of anger. Generally, the church council here works very well. People confront one another. They are very adult about expressing their concerns, and affirming one another and discussing things, by not necessarily agreeing but at least affirming what everybody has to say. And, I was interested to find that out because I never feel as though I do anything when I sit down at a meeting, especially a church council meeting, because they're

basically the governing board of the church here. I don't necessarily feel like I'm contributing a lot. I just kind of sit there. And, if I need to speak up because the situation is getting a little weird or getting out of hand, I do. But, generally, I just keep my mouth shut, so everyone can minister to one another. So, I guess I would say, I know the position of pastor is vested with authority. It's not the same kind of authority I think you'll find in the Catholic church or in some of the higher traditions, where it's a priest as opposed to a minister or pastor.

I think one of the best sources of authority for anyone who has to deal with it whether they want to or not, is to develop in oneself, or claim, a special sense of peace and wellness, wholeness, whatever you wish to call it . . . healing . . . and offer that to the congregation as just a presence, and I think there is a lot of authority in that. In just being a well person. A healed person. So that's what I would say.
. . . It was really funny, when I first came back from leave, it was like the bottom had kind of dropped out. I mean, all of a sudden, there were all of these people coming to me with all of these problems. When I hadn't really heard a word about anything, for months, really, and it as almost as though they were coming in to say, "Mommy, Mommy, I need you." It was really something. And, of course, it didn't surprise a lot of my colleagues. They said, "Oh, yes, that's par for the course: you go away for awhile and, when you come back, there's great need."

Elaine Crocker felt that authority and nurturance were part of the same whole, that one was part of the other.

Again, I think it's all coming from the same place. That there were times, certainly, when I think authority became important. It just was part of the whole. I never felt that there was an exception to it. I mean, to be a nurturer, to me, implies that there is a necessity for authority that just seems to be [implied in nurturance], when there are those circumstances, when you know what is better in a given circumstance, you know that you have to tell a child in a very authoritarian manner that they are not to cross the street, because you know they don't understand the issues involved in it. That's an extension of nurture. Even though it is from an authoritarian point of view, so I don't separate the two of them as different qualities, just different aspects of the same quality. So that nurture is the main center, and there might be other things that

spring from it, but it's all coming out of the nurturing component.

Issues of Nurturance in the Congregation and Family

When asked if there was anything about being a woman and a mother that influenced how she communicated her experience of God, of the sacred in life, Kate Barnett expressed how she felt that the idea of unconditional love underlaid both her ministry and her parenting. These images certainly convey one aspect of the importance of nurturing in both roles.

> A lot. . . . "Unconditional love." Have you seen the book called, "I'll Love You Forever"? Oh! It's just marvelous! I read it to my congregation. Actually, I read it to my kids and my congregation got more out of it, you know. In fact, it made a very strong impact on them. It's unbelievable. It's all the realities of life. You know, the two-year-old flushing the watch down the toilet, and the teenager acting like an animal, and all those things. But we always concentrate on those things. You know how we can't put up with this. How we get through it anyway. . . . But this is like a whole other look. It takes the next step. How you go into someone's room, and you pick them up, even when they are sixty years old. And you tell them how much you love them, and how unconditional it is.
>
> You can't help but learn that lesson when you have kids, or you have animals, or are married. There's so many ways to learn it. You just have this instinctual love, regardless of behavior or activities. I think that is probably what . . . it's got to be from God. It's certainly something we take to naturally, and it's a very powerful thing in my life. That's one of the things I feel a church is, you know you're a family. You have little spats and fights with people, and people have this tendency to see a misunderstanding as being much bigger than it is, and something that the world sees as quite large, probably. But, in the church, its smaller. It's not as important. It's something we can live with and incorporate into our relationship and move through.

Ellen Crocker's response to the question of how she saw her ministry and parenting coming together was to talk about how they

were inseparably intertwined in the nurturing component of herself that she brought to both roles.

> I remember your last talk when I talked about that nurturing component that I see as inseparable [from authority]. And it's interesting that, in conversations I've had with male colleagues, including my husband, who felt that in ministry there was an opportunity to give fuller expression to their nurturing side. And, because it seems so natural to me, and a lot of that had to do with my being a women in those traditional--at least, in my idea of what were considered traditional--roles, to be the pastor in the congregation was to me no different that being the mother of children. And I don't just mean that I would be in this maternalistic setting or matriarchical [one].
>
> It was just very natural for me to be available, to be the nurturer and the facilitator and the enabler, rather than doer of. And, of course, I knew there were different maternal roles, but my maternal role with my children was the enabler, facilitator, nurturer, sure-you-can-do-it, rah-rah-rah. And, so, that was inseparable from who I was as a clergywoman.

Claire Cook, whose marriage brought her two stepchildren and the responsibilities of instant parenting, also felt that these roles were inseparable in her life.

> I cannot even separate the two. So, right from the start, they work together. Right from the start of our marriage they were together. I think, if I didn't parent, my life would not be as full and the ministry would not be as full. If I wasn't a pastor, or in the ordained ministry in some fashion, I just think I would shrivel up and die, so I wouldn't want to parent. I mean, I cannot separate the two because they are contained in one life.

Eileen Clark made a similar response in terms of the expression of her nurturance in both roles being of one piece.

> They are just the same. It's just another piece of the same whole. I think, if this were a larger church--this is a small church, and, in small churches, things are more relational than organizational, and more affectional than programmatic. . . . So, it's more intense and personal with the children, which is appropriate. It's basically the same stuff.

Emily Lewis identified similar approaches to people in her congregation and to her children in terms of how she expressed her nurturance in these roles. Emily thought that being a nurturing person comes before both roles.

> I'd say those are pretty similar. In the ways that I pay attention to people when I talk to my congregants, in the ways that I listen to then, and the kinds of questions I'll ask them. The ways in which I'll answer their questions. . . . I feel like the same person in both situations. If my children have a question about something, I'll explain it to them and I'll give them an analogy or tell them a little story. I do the same with my congregants. Or, I'll say to one of my kids, "Let's go and read about it." I'll tell them, "Let's get a book out of the library shelf and take a look at it." So, both the rational and the emotional parts of nurturing I do pretty much the same.

Elaine Marshall thought that some of the same skills were involved in both her mothering and in her ministry.

> I think that . . . some of the same skills are involved: patience, nudging, sort of the same thing you do with your children as they grow. You don't push because you don't want them to push back too hard. Which happens both with kids and with churches, you know. But you want them to develop in some new ways, and so you seek to challenge that, but not too much. You know, whatever they can handle. And I also think there is--as I get older--the old youthful idealism, sort of tempered by reality. When you figure out what is life, after all. It's not achieving grandiose things. It's making these small incremental steps, and how can you see that as a challenge and meet it, rather than being continually frustrated because things aren't what you thought they were.

Jill Brooks's nurturance was expressed in similar ways with her daughter and in her parish.

> I think these are fairly similar in terms of how I nurture people in the parish and my child. . . . I think the way I nurture Marissa is encouraging her to explore and in trying to create settings that are new and interesting and challenging and trying to build environments where people can feel safe and invited and be themselves. I think those are very similar.
>
> I think that being a parent when you are around a little one, and watch them grow and go through different stages, you

just become so aware of how people's needs change at different stages of growth and different stages of their lives. And you become aware of how often people have needs that they can't express, or won't express, or express in ways that aren't even close to what they really want to tell you. Just kind of watching the evolution of all that, there's so much of it's that's transferable to working with adults. And I think that's easy to forget. And, I think we think, when people are grown up, they are grown up--and, in fact, we keep growing. We keep changing. Our needs are different. We find ourselves in binds like children that we can't get ourselves out of. And even in terms of religion and theology, much of it is as confusing to us as when we were little children. And, so, just being around someone who is growing and changing every day keeps us aware of how much is happening with people in my parish, too.

I think it has a wonderful effect on the parish because they get to see the actual activity of nurture and showing affection in a very concrete way. They see their pastor with this little--I'm a very physical person--and I think the visual image of that for people is very endearing in some ways. They see the kind of love and affection they feel from their pastor being physically expressed, and somehow there's a transference effect that goes on, too, and that says, "Yeah, that person kind of feels that way toward me, too." I think children born in parishes just become part of the community. . . . I really think that the nurture, what they see of the person as a nurturer, really goes a long way toward demystifying that image of who the pastor is as an untouchable kind of person and that may be very healthy.

Marianne Morgan saw the similarities in nurturance in both parenting and leading a congregation as an attempt to facilitate the emergence of independence. She also discussed some of the differences.

> I think there are a lot of similarities. My sense about my children from the beginning was that my job was to help them be independent, and to do for themselves, and I had never been enamored with having a lot of people dependent on me, for whatever reason. And I can--I find that, on some level, with people who genuinely need me, and in limited pieces of time. But, with my children I found that I wanted to find out who they were and live into that, and I think that's pretty well what

happened. They're very loving, wonderful people, but very, very independent. They know who they are.

It's more frustrating with the parish, because you get an adopted family that you had no part in raising. You know their issues and their needs, and I think it takes a particular kind of person. I think parish work, a lot of it is about maintaining, providing holding ground. You have everything from the half-dead to the unbelievably active and lots in between, and there has to be all of that in the parish. It takes a particular kind of human being, who is a nurturer, who likes the repetitive pattern. But there is a lot in parish work which is about people who will never be able to grow up--you know, at a certain place--and I think it's work for saints.

. . . I find that, as a fifty-seven-year-old woman, I don't want to raise a whole new batch of children. And that sounds sort of like a talking-down way, I don't mean that when I say children in their heart. The children are adults. But the things that they bring to their parish life--interdependence, community life, spiritual depth and growth--a lot of people are at very young places developing those skills.

. . . There's a part of me that feels that the structure, the system, of the church, is simply a dead metaphor. It doesn't fit with what people's needs are. It isn't alive to the occasion. It has too much invested in maintaining. Part of the reason I'm moving out is that I love to be at the edges. I am interested in people who are at least willing to struggle with change, with being broad and open, with moving on. I want to encourage that in people's lives. In parish life, there is a limited number of people who want that, even in this dynamically funny little place, when push comes to shove. And I've talked to the leadership group about how this parish can be a significant leadership influence in this community. And they say, "Well, we're too tired. We have too many children, we want this to be a place that nourishes us, that takes care of us. We want to be able to come here and have the Eucharist and be fed." And I think that that's probably appropriate. I can't do it, or I'm not willing to do it.

So, sometimes, I think, well, I'll just change my parenting. And, other times, I think, I may never parent that way anyhow. I don't know. . . . There's no feedback in this parish at all. I think people really care about me appropriately, and appreciate whatever it is I do, and put up with what I don't do. But, in my family and with my kids, there was a norm of constantly feeding back to each other: "Well, how are you doing?' And, "That was great!" "Why did you do that?" "I don't

like. . . ." "This makes me feel terrible." You know--that kind of thing. I don't see that here anymore. It's interesting--I'm just getting hold of the fact. . . . So, it's not the same model.

Nancy Rogers felt that the most important parts of nurturance in ministry were offering an emotionally healthy model and a solid sense of presence to the people with whom one worked.

> I feel like a lot of the nurturance I offer people is based on a lot of therapeutic work I've done, and I feel like I'm offering that to myself and my husband and my child, my congregation, pretty much the same way. I think one of the things that makes pastoring so difficult is that you are almost always with people at a time of deep emotion. And it can be any range of emotions, there are different kinds . . . if people are grieving, or they're angry, or they're frustrated. You know they're feeling, very deeply. And I think it's very difficult to do the work of pastoring until the pastor spends time looking at his or her own deep feelings and exploring those, even those that are very painful. And the church has a lot of similarities to family structure, and I think its important for a pastor to look at family dynamics in the same way. So, what I have learned about myself, and what I have therapeutically dealt with in terms of my own family functions and family dynamics and family dysfunctions. I feel that it is a large part of where my nurturing comes from.
>
> It may sound a little strange, but the idea of being an adult presence, or even being a parent, is kind of something you have to be as a pastor. And I don't necessarily think that's good. I just think it's a factor. It's the way it is. So, I feel that I'm not offering them anything different with Amanda around than I did before, when she wasn't around, except I'm more clearly aware that it is a parenting role that people are asking me to step into or somehow needing. You know, it's not a conscious thing, and it's not articulated, either. I wish it weren't the case. Ultimately, I think every church community should be filled with fulfilled adults, you know. But, obviously, we all bring to a place like this some really deeply-felt needs, and what is called on is to do some kind of parenting.

Nancy spoke of similar concepts when asked how parenthood and ministry came together for her.

and ministry came together for her.

> . . . Spiritually guided presence, that, I think, is important for a church community or for a family. I think also I alluded to the idea of being a healthy person and presenting that as a model. I think there has been some real damage done in ministry as far as a minister trying to project and be a super-virtuous person. It's damaging to the church; it's very damaging to the pastor; and it's ridiculous, because no human being can be that virtuous, anyway.
>
> But, to be a model of health, of emotional healthiness, and not to control situations, or to pretend to be who you aren't, but simply to be who you are and who you are struggling to become [is the goal]. To let people see that there is a real pilgrimage in my life, whatever it is. I mean, the pilgrimage has been really bizarre, so far. I don't have any reason to believe that it's not going to continue to be pretty bizarre, but that's good. The Bible is pretty bizarre, too. I just think that needs to be lifted up rather than to try and mold your life and yourself into this way of being that somehow they've molded onto pastors and other good people. [It's a model] that's not really healthy or helpful or human. . . .
>
> I really need simply to be there, encouraging and empowering both the church community and the child, so they can get on the pilgrimage themselves. I don't want to stop them. It may lead to some pretty weird places but, so, what else is new?

Susan Stanley didn't like thinking of a congregation in familial terms. Although, under questions of reward, she felt the church did provide a kind of extended family for her children. What disturbed Susan was the fostering of dependent relationships that interfered with the development of her parishoners.

> I don't like the image of congregation as family, I guess. Maybe I should say that first. Because, again, I think it's more like a community or something. "Family" has too many pathologies associated with it. The possibilities of dependence get set up, and it's too narrowing. But, at home, there are ways in which I need to let go of my children and let them do--not even that. [We just need] to let go of them and to let go in our parenting. It doesn't matter if my husband does

> it just like I do. I need to let go of that. So, I think my nurturing is sometimes more directive because it needs to be. I'm already clear that they've got to make their own decisions--that people have to take care of themselves. I don't think I foster dependency relationships. I probably do that more at home. . . . Well, my children are dependent on me. So, there are healthy dependencies for a child that are appropriate and I think they aren't appropriate in a church context.

In her position as chaplain in a woman's school, Dorothy Crowley did identify her nurturing with parenting, although she had daughters the same age as the students with whom she worked.

> I think what I tend to do in working with individual students is to notice, name and celebrate their strengths and offer a belief in their ability to make their own choices. I'm much more likely to suggest to my own children, or have been. However, there are cases where a student really wants to have something to chew on, and I certainly offer by saying, "If this were happening to me, then this is how I think I would feel." I don't completely back off from giving the advice, and I quite often push people with questions, a lot of questions. But, it just doesn't feel like parenting, not certainly in the traditional sense, and then I don't think I do parenting traditionally, either.

Joanne Richards feels that her ideas about what constitutes nurturing have changed from the images of what that meant for women when she was growing up. In terms of church and family life, Joanne felt that nurturance was part of her "call" and, therefore, part of who she was now.

> I guess the underlying answer to all of these questions is that when I first accepted that ministry was a vocation, a call, I realized that the thing that was so terrifying about it was that it was not something that could be picked up and put down. Ministry is the acceptance of life, a way of being in the world. Understanding ministry in that way means that there is no way

for me to do radically differently in the church and in the house. I've chosen a way of living and a ministry. So, I nurture in the parish a lot the way I nurture in my house.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study began in response to the issue of how women put together their dual roles of professional and mother. The starting point was an attempt to look at the mutually-enhancing aspects that each role had on the other. One way of making this role more relevant and more manageable was to identify a profession on which to focus in order to understand these issues in the context of a specific solution. The profession chosen was the clergy. The population studied were women priests, ministers and rabbis who were mothers.

Specifically, this is the study of sixteen women priests, ministers and rabbis who have at some point in their lives had the responsibility for parenting at least one child. All had been married at one point in their lives. Three were widowed and one was divorced.

The women in this research project represented nine different denominations of the Christian and Jewish faiths. They were mothers of children aged eleven weeks to forty years. They ranged in age from thirty-four to sixty-three years, and had been ordained from three to twenty-one years.

The sixteen women were interviewed twice in ninety-minute audiotaped interviews, following a two-part interview schedule. All

interviews were transcribed in full. Transcriptions were then read and coded for prevalent patterns and themes.

The major themes identified were as follows: (1) stresses and challenges of the dual roles of mother and clergywoman; (2) rewards and satisfactions of these dual roles; (3) issues of authority at home and in the congregation; and (4) issues of nurturance at home and in the congregation.

These sections of the interview were then arranged first in order of similarity of response, second in terms of differences of response, and then finally according to unique responses. Extensive quotation from the participants is used as a form of "raw data" in this qualitative study.

These data have been presented to the participants for accuracy of quote and intent, context, further consent and reaction, both in agreement and in opposition to the statements of the other participants. This sharing of the findings serves both to insure participant protection and serves as a "member check" regarding the generalizability of the findings with the target group.

The intent of this study methodologically was to provide an in-depth phenomenological presentation of the significant issues in the lives of clergywomen who are mothers. It is intended to be exploratory in nature and to raise issues and questions for further

research. It is limited in terms of the race, region, sexual orientation and other characteristics of the individuals who participated. It is not meant to be used "in contrast" to clergymen, although this issue comes up in some responses and is certainly one that should be pursued in further research. It is meant to represent the voices of women who are integrating spiritual, vocational and parental aspects of their development as whole people.

The following section on conclusion and discussion presents the findings of the study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

As indicated in Chapter I, the general scope of this research was to provide, through the literature review and the design, analysis and report of the actual research, some insight into the seven following identified areas. These areas included questions and responses regarding the following. (1) What is the actual experience of women who work outside the home in terms of their professional and familial responsibilities? (2) What do women find particularly stressful in terms of trying to meet these multiple demands? (3) What do women find particularly rewarding in terms of their dual identities? (4) How do issues of power and authority play themselves out, both within the family and within the professional realm? (5) How does the expression of nurturance reveal itself in both domains? (6) Where are there areas of mutual influence and reciprocity? (7) How do women construe meaning out of these aspects of their lives for themselves?

The rewards and dilemmas reflected in the actual experience of women who work outside the home, in terms of professional and familial responsibility, is presented through a focus on one particular profession. This study concerns professional and family

responsibility in terms of how the women who participated in this research address these issues as mothers and clergywomen. The specifics are addressed based on the responses.

What Did the Participants Find Particularly Stressful in Their Dual Roles of Mother and Clergywoman?

Three of the women shared the experience of feeling that they were supposed to fulfill the roles of both clergywoman and clergyman's wife. These women felt that there was a whole "feminine agenda" on top of the expectations of ministry.

All of the women, with the exception of the one person who entered the ministry after her children were grown, spoke of their concerns about raising a "Preacher's Kid," or "P.K.," as they are known in the profession (Lee, 1990). Children of the clergy have often had the experience of living in a "goldfish bowl," or "glass house," to use Cameron Lee's term. This is especially true if they live in the parsonage, where their lives and behavior are constantly on display. Higher behavioral and spiritual expectations are often placed upon them, as well as their parents, and they are expected to be very involved with the congregation. Additionally, the church or synagogue is usually a rival for their parents' time and attention, and many women reported knowing people who had come to hate the church because they were raised in these conditions. Women who had

had their children while serving as a minister usually reported great support and enthusiasm from their congregations, but there were also displays of behavior that resembled a form of "sibling rivalry." One women had particular difficulty in getting her church to develop a clear maternity leave policy.

The fifteen women who mentioned this issue in one way or another spoke of their children's reactions to this role. They indicated very conscious attempts to help minimize the effects of being in this position.

Other points of stress that were brought up by the participants included the frantic pace of the schedule and the sense of always being on call. There was a desire to be in two places at once, in terms of congregation and family. The seasonal pressures of both the Christian Ministry at Christmas and Easter and the Jewish cycle of the high holy days at Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur and the Bar Mitzvah "seasons" were particularly stressful times.

Money issues, low or poor pay, and the difficulties in even talking about these issues with a congregation were mentioned by a few of the participants. Several other women stated that they were only able to be involved in this work, or to work part-time in it, because of the financial support of their husband's job outside the church.

Perhaps the most disturbing stressful thing to hear about, given the work that these women do, were the threats on their lives that two of the women received at the time of their ordination.

What Did the Participants Find Rewarding in their Dual Roles of Mother and Clergywoman?

Many of the women mentioned that, although the pace of the schedule and the extent of it in terms of weekends and evenings was demanding, it also provided a great deal of flexibility. This helped somewhat in being able to meet children's needs and activities. The varied nature of the work was also seen positively, and one women in particular actually enjoyed the "juggling" she had to do and felt that it enhanced her skills later in other types of church work with which she was involved. Many women were particularly proud that they were able to manage all of these responsibilities as well as they did, and felt that just the fact of being a working mother gave them a lot in common with their congregants.

Women with babies and young children found that an adjoining parish house was a real asset in terms of convenience and finances. The close proximity of living quarters allowed for meals with the children or with the entire family. Such housing arrangements provided the children with a better sense of what their mother's work was about and provided opportunities for the children to contact the mother if necessary, or just to be able to say "good-night."

Many women spoke of coming to new spiritual understandings, identifications, insights or experiences in the process of parenting. Pregnancy and birth were particularly powerful metaphors for several of the women in this study.

Several women mentioned the breaking down of dualism and the split between sexuality and spirituality that pregnancy and motherhood in a priest, minister or rabbi created.

Some women spoke of personal transformations of self brought about by the experience of parenthood. These included the ability to understand the stages of development that both children and adults went through. A moderation in personality traits that might have been too controlling or work-centered was also identified. Several women felt that they were more accepting of different types of people and less judgmental than they had been before becoming parents. A few of the participants saw expansion in their abilities to work with children or to be a better counselor in their pastoral roles.

Many of the clergywomen saw advantages in the "extended family" or community that the congregation provided for their children. A few spoke of the immediate support and welcome that was offered them when they moved into a new community.

Being able to do work that they loved and be paid for it was another reward identified. Several women spoke of the privilege of

being able to be involved with people in critical life events such as birth and death, and having some understanding of difficult experiences other women faced such as miscarriage and infertility problems. Being involved in the lives of young people and feeling that they had made a difference were also rewarding experiences.

Having family members involved in the ordination or other important ceremonies, and finding ways to share their ministries with their children, were satisfactions identified by some of the participants.

One woman discussed how the birth of her daughter had made the already important work of addressing peace and justice issues even more meaningful. The integration of work and family issues was facilitated by the common and underlying values in both areas of this woman's life. This integration of work and family based on underlying common values was a theme other women sounded as well. Overall, there was a consistency and commitment to life values which were expressed by these women in both their work as clergy and in their role as parents.

Finally, one participant pointed out that the presence of women with children in clergy meetings and conferences had opened up parenthood issues for men as well. Once women were present and able to raise issues of concern to them, a new permission was

extended for men to talk about their concerns as well. The growing presence of women in a previously male-dominated field, such as the clergy, may provide opportunities for a more human and liberated, and less sex-role-rigid, interpretation of what constitutes "professional."

How are Issues of Power and Authority Addressed Both Within the Family and in the Professional Realm?

Many of the women interviewed spoke of challenging the hierarchical models of ministry and the rabbinate and trying to work more collaboratively and empower their congregants more. They spoke of their own roles as being not qualitatively different from what it meant to be a Christian or a Jew. Many were also concerned about the unrealistic and almost semi-divine expectations placed on ordained clergy.

Some women spoke of experiencing some conflict about where to extend and where to maintain authority, particularly in issues regarding the service or liturgy. The obligation to ensure the trust given them as "caretakers" of the sacred in their traditions sometimes came into conflict with the needs and desires of their congregants or even those outside of their formal congregations. These conflicts concerning authority might arise from the desire of an individual or a group to change or create a ceremony or to

question traditional rules, behaviors or stances. Conversely, members of their church or temple might question changes in traditional procedures, attitudes and practices. Many of these clergywomen were at the forefront regarding change and transformation in their respective denominations. They also had the background, training and obligation to retain final discretion regarding the appropriateness of certain changes. This responsibility could come into conflict with their desire to change hierarchical models of authority.

Building self-esteem in others was one way that some of the participants tried to form a basis for their own authority. And other clergywomen discussed the use of "authority" to create environments where the congregation or community could flourish and develop its own leadership.

Respecting the fact that their children had their own lives and their congregation had its own life apart from them was an important aspect of authority identified.

Some women felt that they were better in one area than the other when it came to issues of authority and how well they felt they expressed their authority. Some felt that they had become more mellow in terms of forcing their own opinions, and one woman spoke of using reflective listening with both her children and her congregations as the basis of her authority.

Finally, some women mentioned that it wasn't really possible to separate authority from nurturance, that they were, in fact, part of the same whole. Responsible nurturance often carried the obligation to exercise one's authority, and the use of authority and its development in others was a form of nurturance.

How are Issues of Nurturance Expressed at Home and in the Congregation?

One woman spoke of the concept of unconditional love as her theological model, her image of the divine and the source from which her nurturance was expressed in both areas. Some women felt that parenting and ministering were inseparable parts of who they were, particularly when it came to nurturing others. Nurturance was felt to come before both roles.

Several women identified using the same skills in both areas: patience, nudging, not pushing, and taking satisfaction in small accomplishments.

Again, the idea of creating environments in both the home and congregation where nurturing will occur was presented and one woman stated that, in both settings, she encouraged exploration and creativity.

Being around someone who is growing and changing made many women aware of the fact that adults were going through changes, also.

One woman thought that the nurturance she expressed to her young daughter in physical ways was transferred to the congregation as they witnessed this interaction.

Another participant spoke of trying to create a holding ground where people could grow and develop, as she had done for her own children. However, a few women spoke of the frustration they experienced when people wanted to remain unchallenged and dependent. Some women recognized the fact that some adults will always remain needy.

Some women felt that the family image for a congregation created a problem in continuing to infantilize congregants. Community, or extended family models, were, however, viewed positively.

One woman spoke of the need to offer the congregation a model of spiritual and emotional health, and to get away from previously unhealthy models of the clergy as semi-divine. Another spoke of the ministry as a total call and life change, so that these areas were not separable for her.

Finally, one woman spoke of her sense of nurturance in both roles as the ability to notice, name and celebrate people's strengths and gifts.

In general, then, this research reveals that the clergywomen interviewed found both rewards and stresses in their dual roles as clergy and as mothers, and that the satisfactions on the whole were, if not more numerous, at least more compelling than the stresses and challenges involved in this way of life.

The women interviewed were also able to identify aspects of both their professional and familial roles, where both nurturance and autonomy were expressed, and generally in very similar ways. One important finding from these interviews was the degree to which abilities, skills, learning and perspective were mutually developed in both aspects of the lives of these women, and that there was continuity and reinforcement between these roles.

Participants' Reactions to Reviewing the Interview Data

All of the participants in this study were afforded the opportunity to review the whole of the interview material used in this dissertation prior to the final editing. As part of the confidentiality review and "Member Check," they were asked to respond to the following questionnaire.

Work and Family: The Experience of Clergywomen

Results Questionnaire--Confidentiality

Concerns and Member Check

1. Was there anything in your autobiographical sketch or your sections of the responses used in this dissertation which you would like changed or deleted?

2. Was there anything in the responses of other participants with which you particularly agreed, or which struck you as particularly reflective of your own experiences?

3. Was there anything in the responses of other participants that you particularly disagreed with, or which was disjunctive with your own experiences?

4. After reading other participants' responses, if you had the opportunity to change or expand upon any of your own responses, in what ways would you want to do that? (This would be added to the Results section only; the original quotations, except for deletions necessary for confidentiality, would remain untouched.)

Eight of the sixteen participants chose to utilize this option for editing and comment. Editorial changes have been made in the quotations used in this dissertation where appropriate. Significant editing is noted by footnote.

With regard to the "Member Check" function of this questionnaire, comments were provided by these eight participants. Areas of agreement were more extensively commented on than areas of disagreement. Six women supplied comments on the second question.,

One women particularly agreed with statements made by other participants who had discussed the struggle to keep family a priority when all in the parish seem to think the parish has to be

the top priority. Another respondent related to the difficulties of trying to balance priorities. She commented on the feeling she gets that the family in a woman's case has a higher priority than for male colleagues. Yet another women expressed feelings of guilt and anger that is appears to be mainly women who struggle with this prioritization.

The desire to have more time and energy to do it all was a theme that resonated strongly for one woman in particular. Two of the participants were struck by the statements concerning spirituality, pregnancy and motherhood. One participant particularly liked the idea of motherhood helping one's prayer life "in our arms, heart and daily life."

As a woman in a dual-career clergy couple, one woman was struck by the high number of clergy couples represented in this participant group. She wondered if that arrangement made things easier than, more difficult than or similar to the experiences of other kinds of couples where the woman is in the profession of the clergy.

Two women strongly related to the sense of always being "on call." Another woman liked the challenges to the stereotypes of good parenting other participants provided. There was agreement on the part of one participant that one advantage of parish life was the extended family, or community.

One woman, whose daughters were just entering their adolescent years, appreciated the quote regarding the "gift" of being perceived as ordinary that was extended from an adolescent daughter to a mother in the clergy.

The problems of financial stress were identified as a common problem by one participant. And, finally, there was one comment that there were lots of similarities in the experiences of these women and the participant's own.

Responses regarding areas of disagreement or disjuncture with the respondent's own experience included the following points.

One woman stated that there were not really any areas of disagreement, but she was surprised by the emphasis on pregnancy and birth. She didn't connect it with her experiences in a professional clergy role although it was, at the time, a spiritual experience for her. She also stated that she was not in a parish setting when she had children. Another participant had a totally different experience of pregnancy and of having a new baby in a parish than Leslie Chase had had. She found her parish supportive, but they were already used to her as a mother, since she had a child already when she was called there. That parish had already come to terms with the fact that she could fulfill both roles.

Another woman saw the experiences of other women as different, but not disjunctive. One participant reported that she

never had the experience of being expected to function as the pastor's wife on top of clergy responsibilities. Expectations in this regard for her were the same as, or less than, those of other women in the parish.

One woman stated that the issues of pregnancy were outside of her experience, but problems of infertility had made for some painful moments, especially during Advent.

Regarding change or expansion of comments previously made, the following response was shared by Joanne Richards with regard to the advantages and disadvantages experienced by children of the clergy.

> Every child needs to live with expectations in his or her parents' work. Almost every job a parent could have would mean making family adjustments once in awhile. I think there is an extreme advantage in a child seeing what her parents' life and life choices are all about. I think it is wonderful to see a vocation up close. Many, many children never know what Mom or Dad <u>do</u>, or why.
>
> Yes, children need to make adjustments when they have parents who are ministers, but most of those adjustments are under our control and we can model healthy ways of being in ministry for both our children and our parishes. We do not need to be controlled by ministry or by parishoners' perceived needs any more than we need to give in to all our children's desires and perceived needs. It seems to me that part of a ministry is learning to say "No" to the unhealthy demands of a congregation.
>
> So, I guess I would say to Rebecca, the advantages of having a mother who is a minister and, in her case, a father as well) FAR outweigh the disadvantages.

Connections with Previous Research on Work-Family Issues

As Jane Flax outlined the tasks that women faced in challenging the artificial split between the spheres of work and family, she included the following: the need to integrate work and play; to find new ways to integrate intimacy and childcare needs with professional demands; the development of stewardship rather than an exploitative relationship to the environment; interrupting mastery/submissive relationships between men and women; and the need to integrate mind and body, feeling and thought. In essence, as she states, the tasks women face are basically "the recreation of life itself" (Flax, p. 22).

I would include in the diversions to be overcome the splits between nature (including sexuality) and spirituality, and the splits between nurture and authority.

The responses of many of the women in this study reflect models of reconciling these divisions and challenge the dualities of spirit versus transcendence, the public versus the private world, and work versus love, dualities discussed by such feminist theorists as Flax, Mitchell, Rubin, Ortner, Sacks and Chodorow.

The meaning these women derive from their experiences as both mothers and clergywomen included coming to new spiritual understanding, identifications, insights and experiences in the

process of both parenting and serving their congregations. Often, these insights were experienced in one setting but carried over to the other. In both cases there was an inseparability in how they fulfilled both roles.

Much of the descriptions these women provided of the actual realities of their existence in a day-to-day fashion was illustrative of what Bailyn (1978) described as "accommodation," or the degree to which work requirements are fitted into family requirements (p. 58).

Clergy, as Kanter (1977a) and Kieran & Munro (1988) have noted, are involved in an occupation which involves a great deal of absorption, both qualitatively and quantitatively in terms of the time, energy and expectations involved. The women in this study have all had to contend with and try to manage the "greedy" nature of this work, as Kieran & Munro call it.

The influence of occupational culture on parental behavior as described by Kohn (1985) applies to the work-family system of clergywomen. The term "substantive complexity," or "the degree to which the performance of the work requires thought and independent action," is certainly a characteristic of the work of clergy.

The influence of parental work on children's development was an issue the women in this study were concerned with, in terms of the opportunities and dilemmas faced in raising "Preacher's Kids."

They tried to find ways to reduce the negative influences of so much public pressure while acknowledging the resources that the support of other significant adults in their children's lives could bring. A few women also spoke of the need to treat their children with the same level of concern that was expected by members of their congregations. The influences and experiences of working with congregants struggling with lifecycle issues brought more understanding to their parental roles, and vice versa.

Crouter (1984) described what she called negative and positive spillover. The experiences of the women in this study fall most clearly into the category of positive spillover.

The transferability of skills identified by Naimark and Pearce (1985) is also clearly descriptive of the development of parents and as professionals the participants in this research report.

Perhaps the most useful model of looking at how influences in one sphere of activity influence the development in human beings in another is Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, described in the literature review and applied to clergy families and congregations in the article by Lee (1988). This model provides a framework and theory for mapping the mutuality of effect that family, congregation and even denomination can have on one another.

The research of Gilligan, Willard and Attanucci challenges the divisions between justice and caretaking models of moral and human development, and evidences the relational models which inform women's decision-making and prioritizing. The responses of the participants in this study reflect these same attitudes and provide a particularly potent argument against the concept that women's caregiving is "selfless and passive."

Willard's work on "cultural scripts" provides some clues as to the particular dilemmas faced by women clergy. The "scripts" for these roles were developed primarily for men. The "scripts" included roles for wives in terms of their family and congregational responsibilities. Congregations are often confused by having a woman in the role, the loss of the clergyman's wife and the new behaviors and expectations of women who are both the leader of the church and the mother of a family. The women, in turn, were in the process of trying to develop the new scripts needed to play all their roles well. All of the women in this study could be described as falling into the third script category of Willard: that is, women who make decisions based upon their own family and work situations.

Attanucci's research on "in whose terms" women make decisions is also applicable to the decision-making evidenced by the women who participated in this project. Women who make decisions in their own terms are able to acknowledge themselves in the process of

considering who needs their care. Since the work of clergy is so much about caring for others, I would add the ability to acknowledge the needs of their families as having as much importance as their congregations, and not have that realization diminish, but, rather, enhance their self-identity.

These women also demonstrate Bateson's work on how women create order and sense out of conflicting demands. The women who participated in this study are similar to the women Bateson interviewed in that they, too, are "trying to compose lives that will honor all of their commitments and still express all of their potentials" (Bateson, 1989, p. 232). These women are able to acknowledge the conflicting claims in their lives and accept that as a strength. To quote again from Bateson, the women in this study, like in hers,

> . . . have learned modes of effectiveness that makes them caretakers and homemakers beyond their own families, creating environments for growth or learning, healing or moving toward creative fulfillment, seeking authority as a means rather than an end. For them, caretaking and homemaking are not alternatives to success and productivity in the male professional . . . worlds; they are styles of action in the world based on the recognition that ideas and organizations and imaginative visions also require fostering" (p. 235).

The Women's Ways of Knowing literature described five major positions which women hold in relation to how they view the nature of knowledge and themselves as knowers. The women in this study certainly meet the criteria for the constructivist position.

Constructivist women aspire to work that contributes to the empowerment and improvement in the quality of life of others.

> Constructivist women aspire to work that contributes to the empowerment and improvement in the quality of life of others. More than any other group of women in this study, the constructivists feel a part of the effort to address with others the burning issues of the day and to contribute as best they can. They speak of integrating feeling and care into their work. . . . They reveal in the way they speak and live their lives their moral conviction that ideas and values, like children, must be nurtured, cared for, placed in environments that help them grow. (Belenky, et al., p. 152)

Through both their parenting and leadership in their congregations, the women interviewed for this study demonstrated a commitment to assisting others in developing their full human potential and to creating environments where others would empowered to lead and to act. They were deeply concerned with the issues of the day, with justice and with compassion, and they sought to to overcome artificial divisions, both between people and within themselves.

Implications and Recommendations for Further Research and Practice

This study is exploratory in nature, and the qualitative methodology is appropriate for such a study. The themes and patterns revealed in the interviews around the questions of stresses, rewards, authority and nurturance require further investigation using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

As stated in the literature section, the sample is small and not necessarily representative of clergywomen as a whole. It is regionally bound and includes only white heterosexual women. It does not attempt to make any statements regarding men's experiences. Further research needs to be conducted using larger samples, within and between denomination studies, age cohort comparisons, different age groupings for the children, lesbian couples, women of color and comparisons with the experiences of clergymen.

One area that emerges as an issue for further research is the experience of the children themselves. The issue of "Preacher's Kids" was mentioned most often as an area of concern by the women in this study, and an important and necessary future research project would be to study both adults who have grown up with these experiences and children who are currently in such situations. This perception is supported by Cameron Lee's (1990) assertion that,

> Unfortunately, there is little substantive research or literature on "preacher's kids" or "PKs" to effectively challenge the stereotypes that church members and even ministers seem to hold of them {Lee, 1990, p. 1).

The research in this dissertation intentionally focuses upon motherhood and the parent-child relationship. Further research should be done on the complete family unit and the role of the non-clergy partner/parent in such settings.

The interview process yielded a great deal of very rich data which were not utilized in this dissertation. This was because the initial point of inquiry was that of the work-family system of the participants. Questions that yielded responses on themes related to this point of inquiry were emphasized. Further use of the data should be explored, concerning questions of the call to ministry, the ways in which women may uniquely express their vocations, and what this type of "work" as functionaries of the sacred is all about. A deeper exploration of the belief systems of the participants, as well as the belief systems in which they are trying to function, or with which they are in conflict, should also be elucidated. Such an exploration would require more extensive reference to theological issues and how these women frame their belief systems and contexts.

The social science approach to this research is an approach which is congruent with the field it is written within. However,it is inadequate for fully exploring these underlying issues. A theological and historical context is still needed here.

The strong dualistic paradigm of much of Christianity and of western culture in general forms a basis for much of the discomfort with women in sacred roles. In order to understand this discomfort, this dualistic paradigm needs to be explored and explained. Women have been seen as representing nature, imminence and life as well

as death through sexuality. Spiritual traditions in our culture, which are particularly derivative of Greek influences, have sought immortality, transcendence and the divine by excluding women's bodies from sacred turf and creating a long-standing animosity between sexual and spiritual life (Nelson, 1978).

Congregations, as well as clerical leadership, are shaped by these dualistic divisions and assumptions. Issues surrounding pregnancy, childbirth, motherhood, nurturance and intimacy create cognitive and emotional dissonance with the underlying belief about what can and cannot be "holy." Recognizing "authority" with any regard to preserving, presenting and proclaiming "the sacred" may also be undermined by these conflicts.

The interaction of ritual and belief, and the possibilities for changing both of these as women function in highly-charged symbolic roles, was explored in an article on "Coming of Age in Kelton: The Constraints on Gender Symbolism in Jewish Ritual," by Riv-Ellen Prell-Foldes in an anthology entitled Women in Ritual and Symbolic Roles (Hock-Smith & Spring, 1978). This chapter is a report and analysis of the attempts of a group of Jewish women to create new roles in ritual for women in halakhic (law-centered) Judaism. The editors describe the difficulties encountered by these women in trying to transform traditional male-dominant rituals into meaningful female-centered rites.

> [The author] questions the elasticity, flexibility and accommodating nature of the ritual symbol. The Minyan, a communal prayer group of men and women, allows women ritual participation. Consequently, a creative "Sabbath Ritual" is rewritten by some of the women to alter the notion of Jewish women in ritual by expanding a dominant, referential symbol, the Torah. Women in the Minyan begin to see their exclusion from the ritual not as individual problems, but rather as problems of their sex and culture. Further, women feel it is not their lack of training and knowledge or their exclusion from this small prayer group that make them feel ritually alienated, but rather the fact that that experience of worship, the language of prayer, and the culture out of which the prayer was produced are alien to women. The Minyan women discover that ritual cannot change belief, but it can be used to present "female consciousness" of the present age. Rituals provide precise boundaries of tradition that allow people to dare great defeats with safety, because the form itself suppresses any denial of tradition. Furthermore, the author argues, that the male imagery and metaphors contained in liturgy, which the Minyan women found "exclusionary," cannot be changed without changing wide meanings. Symbols do have meanings beyond which new meanings cannot be incorporated. (Hoch-Smith & Spring, 1978, p. 13.)

Thus, for many women clergy, particularly those in the more ritualistic traditions, the cognitive dissonance between being female and a representative to and of the sacred may be particularly difficult for their congregants and for them for some time. Three of the Episcopal women spoke of experiences of people leaving the congregation or the denomination, or refusing to receive sacraments from them, and two of these women experienced death threats on the dates of their ordinations.

Conversely, several women, representing many denominations, including the Episcopal church, spoke of experiences of women coming

to them and relating how transformative it was for them to experience a woman in an ordained role in service or liturgy. Such an experiment made them feel as though they, as women, finally and for the first time experienced their femaleness as part of the divine.

All of these aspects of this interview process need to be further elaborated and presented.

Many of the women interviewed disclaimed any influence of being a women or a mother in doing this "sacred" work of making the divine present, communicating their own experience of the divine, or enabling others to experience the holy. These women felt that there should be no significant differences between how men or women fulfilled these responsibilities.

Such a gender-neutral stance is often given by women in professional roles. It is one way to claim legitimacy for women performing them, by stating that there are no differences in how men and women function in these careers. This "same as" approach to equality may be particularly endemic to American culture. That differences and diversity can also lead to equality has been a hard concept for many in our culture to grasp.

When it comes to gender differences in a role where sexuality is supposed to be absent, and where women have had a particularly difficult time in gaining admittance and recognition, disclaimers in this regard are not surprising.

It may also be that the women themselves are caught in the same belief systems, and so they cannot recognize, name and celebrate what being female brings to doing "God" work.

Those women who did feel that being a woman and a mother has been an influence on their clerical roles were more likely to challenge the hierarchical structures of leadership in their denominations and to acknowledge the split between sexuality and spirituality.

Again, this needs to be developed in additional reporting of research findings, and all of these issues need to be further developed in a theological context using the data collected in response to the questions on symbolism and function as women and mothers who serve congregations as "God" persons.

Finally, research on other professions using this type of focus on dual roles of profession and parenting, their interactive effects and mutually-enhancing elements needs to be done to provide more information on how women in a wide range of occupations transfer skills and abilities and how they develop as whole human beings. Perhaps such research will help to eradicate the myth of separate worlds.

Practical Implications of this Research

Given what has already been written on the demands of clergy roles and the stress on families (Lee, 1988 and 1990; London & Allen, 1985-86; Kiernan & Monroe, 1988; and Richmond, Rayburn & Rogers, 1985), combined with the stresses identified by the women in this study, I would concur with the policy recommendations of Kieran & Monroe (1985), cited earlier. These are: the need for anticipatory socialization in seminary; the use of "change agents" in congregations; hiring and pastoral support committees to work on transforming expectations regarding the "twenty-four-hour call"; realistic definitions of part-time work; family impact analysis regarding role expectations in a congregation; in-service education for church leaders in this area of work and family life; counseling services outside of the church hierarchy; maternity leave and child care assistance.

I would particularly emphasize the need to educate congregations, boards of deacons, vestries or other governing boards, as well as the hierarchy of these institutions, regarding the reality of family life of clergy today and the responsibility of these groups to assure just, reasonable, supportive and human working conditions and expectations of both men and women within these roles.

Interim ministers, deployment officers, chairs of search teams and other leaders in church and synagogue can use the process

of "calling," or selecting, a new minister, priest or rabbi to raise and discuss these issues.

Individual, marital and family counselors most likely to work with members of the clergy should be familiar with the needs and issues that are unique to this population, as well as those that are shared by many working parents.

Clergy should be encouraged to take advantage of such services and should be given ample time for vacations and occasional complete weekends by using a pool of support clergy, days off, retreats, spiritual direction and opportunities for professional development. There should be opportunities for support groups, both within and outside of their denominations. Parish houses should be retained, or an adequate housing allowance for nearby housing offered. Adequate salaries and benefits need to be provided.

On the administrative and parish levels, less hierarchical leadership models should be developed.

Research in this area with regard to women is scarce and needs to be expanded.

On the positive side, the skills, abilities, resources and sensitivities that women develop in their roles as mothers, as well as clergy, need to be acknowledged and acclaimed.

Additional research in other professions should also be conducted to help emphasize this approach to development in adulthood.

In general, we need to find ways to reduce the stressful aspects of clergy roles while creating environments that will acknowledge and enhance the positive.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Attanucci, J. In whose terms: A new perspective on self, role and relationships in mapping the moral domain. In C. Gilligan, J.V. Ward & J. McClean Taylor (Eds.), Mapping the Moral Domain: A Contribution of Women's Thinking to Psychological Theory and Education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988, 201-24.

Bailyn, L. Accommodations of work to family. In R. Rapaport & R. Rapaport (Eds.), Working Couples. New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

Barrett, K. (June 1984). Two-career couples: The lifestyle change of the century--how they do it. Ms.

Bateson, M.C. Interview. In W. Moyers, A World of Ideas: Conversations with Thoughtful Men and Women About American Life Today and the Ideas Shaping Our Future. New York: Doubleday, 1989, 345-57.

_____. Composing a Life. New York: Atlantic, 1989.

Belenkey, M.F. Part II, "The Intervention." In Women's ways of knowing: A theory and an intervention. In Looking Forward: From Seventy Years of Strength, Publication of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Smith School of Social Work. Northampton, MA: Smith College.

Belenkey, M.F., Clinsky, B.M., Goldberger, M.R., & Ratule, J.M., Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind. New York, 1986.

Belsky, J., Perry-Jenkins, M., & Crouther, A.C. (June 1985). The work-family interface and marital transition across the transition to parenthood. Journal of Family Issues, 6 (2), 205-20.

Bingham, M.M. (December 1989). The Work Family System. Doctoral comprehensive paper, School of Education. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

Brazelton, T.B. Interview. In W. Moyers, A World of Ideas: Conversations with Thoughtful Men and Women About American Life Today and the Ideas Shaping Our Future. New York: Doubleday, 1989, 140-55.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (December 1980). On making human beings human. In Character: A Periodical About Public and Private Policies Shaping American Youth, 2 (2), 1-7.

_____. The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Chodorow, N. Being and doing: A cross-cultural examination of the socialization of males and females. In V. Gorneak & B.K. Moran (Eds.), Women in a Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness. New York, 1971.

Clinchy, B.M. Part I, "The Theory." In Women's ways of knowing: A theory and an intervention. In Looking Forward: From Seventy Years of Strength, Publication of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Smith School of Social Work. Northampton, MA: Smith College.

Crombrinck-Graham, L. The family life cycle and families of young children. In H.A. Liddle (Volume Ed.), Clinical Implications of the Family Life Cycle. Rockville, MD: Aspen Publications, 1983.

Crouther, A.C. (1984). Spillover from family to work: The neglected side of the work-family interface. Human Relations, 37 (6), 425-42.

Crouther, A.C., & Perry-Jenkins, M. Working it out: Effects of work on parents and children. In T.B. Brazelton & M. Yogman (Eds.), In Support of Families. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986, 93-108.

Denton, W. (December 1961). Role attitudes of the minister's wife. Pastoral Psychology.

Donovan, M. Women Priests in the Episcopal Church. Cincinnati, OH: Forward Movement Publications, 1988.

Ehrensaft, D. (January-February 1980). When women and men mother. Socialist Review, 37-73.

Etaugh, C. Effects of maternal employment on children: Implications for the family therapist. In S.H. Cramer (Volume Ed.), Perspectives on Work and the Family, and J.C. Hansen (Ed.), The Family Therapy Collections. Rockville, MD: Aspen Publications, 1984.

Flax, J. (Summer 1978). The conflict between nurturance and autonomy in mother-daughter relationships within feminism. Feminist Studies, 171-189.

Foster, K. (1989). Ministry and motherhood: A collision of callings? Currents in Theology and Mission, 16 (95), 95-103.

Friedman, E. Generation to Generation: Family Process in Church and Synagogue. New York: Guilford Press, 1985.

Gilligan, C. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge, MA, 1982.

Gilligan, C., et al. (Winter 1986). On "In a different voice": An interdisciplinary forum. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 11 (2), 304-33.

Hartley, S. (1978). Marital satisfaction among clergy wives. Review of Religious Research, 19, 178-91.

Hodgson, M.L. Working mothers: Effects on the marriage and the mother. Perspectives on Work and the Family.

Hood, J.C. Becoming a two-job family. In S. Golden (Ed.), Work, Family Roles and Support Systems. Michigan: The Michigan Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1978.

Huyck, H.A. To Celebrate a Whole Priesthood: The History of Women's Ordination in the Episcopal Church. Doctoral Dissertation. Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 1981.

Kamerman, S. (November 1983). The child care debate: America vs. working mothers. Working Women.

Kanter, E.M. Jobs and families: Impact of working roles on family life. In P. Voyanoff (Ed.), Work and Family: Changing Roles of Men and Women. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing, 1984.

Kegan, R., & Lahey, L.L. Adult leadership and adult development: A constructivist view. In B. Kellerman (Ed.), Leadership: A Multidisciplinary Perspective. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1984.

Kessler-Harris, A. The debate over equality for women in the workplace: Recognizing differences. In N. Gerstel & H.E. Gross (Eds.), Families and Work. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987, 520-39.

Kieran, D., & Munro, B. (Summer 1988). Handling greedy clergy roles: A dual-career example. Pastoral Psychology, 36 (4), 239-48.

Kohn, M.L. The effects of social class on parental values and practice. In P. Voyanoff (Ed.), Work and Family: Changing Roles of Men and Women. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing, 1984.

Kuhn, A. Structure of patriarchy and capital in the family. In A. Kuhn & A.M. Volpe (Eds.), Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production. London, 1978, 42-67.

Lee, C. (Summer 1988). Toward a social ecology of the minister's family. Pastoral Psychology, 36 (4), 249-59.

_____ (December 1990). Growing up in a glass house. Excerpts from The Minister and His/Her Family, Theology, News and Notes. Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E.G. Naturalistic Inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing Company, 1985.

London, H., & Allen, K. (Winter 1985-86). Family versus career responsibilities. Marriage and Family Review, 9 (3-4), 199-208.

Madanes, C. Strategic Family Therapy. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1981.

Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing Company, 1984.

Mitchell, J. Psychoanalysis and Feminism. New York, 1974.

Mortimer, J.S., & London, J. The varying linkages of work in family. In P. Voyanoff (Ed.), Work and Family: Changing Roles of Men and Women. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing, 1984.

Naimark, H., & Pearce, S. (September 1985). Transferable skills: One link between work and family. In J. Miller & C. Weeks (Eds.), Journal of Career Development: A Special Issue of Family-Career Linkages.

Nelson, J. Embodiment: An Approach to Sexuality and Christian Theology. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg House Press, 1978.

Okin, S.M. Justice, Gender and the Family. New York, 1989.

Ortner, S.B. Is female to male as nature is to culture? In M.Z. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (Eds.), Women, Culture and Society. Sanford, 1974.

Pleck, J.H. Men's family work: Three perspectives and some new data. In P. Voyanoff (Ed.), Work and Family: Changing Roles of Men and Women. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing, 1984.

_____. The work-family problem: Overloading the system. In B. Forisha & B. Golden (Eds.), Outsiders on the Inside: Women and Organizations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981.

Pogrebin, L.C. Family Politics. New York, 1983.

Prell-Foldes, R.-E. Coming of age in Kelton: The constraints on gender symbolism in Jewish ritual. J. Hock-Smith & A. Spring (Eds.), Women in Ritual and Symbolic Roles. New York: Plenum Press, 1978.

Rhodes, L. Toward a Liberationist/Feminist Theory of Ministry: A Contextual Perspective. Doctoral Dissertation. Boston: Boston University School of Theology, 1983.

Richmond, L.J., Rayburn, C., & Rogers, L. (September 1985). Clergymen, clergywomen and their spouses: Stress in professional religious families. J.V. Miller & C.A. Weeks (Eds.), Journal of Career Development: A Special Issue on Family-Career Linkages.

Roberts, H. (Ed.). Doing Feminist Research. London, 1991.

Rowe, M. Working parents and child care: Issues for the 80's. New Management Initiatives for Working Parents: A Conference Report. Wheelock, 1981.

Rubin, G. The traffic in women: Notes on the political economy of sex. In R. Reiter (Ed.), Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York, 1975.

Russell, L.M., P. Kwok, Isai-Diaz, A.M., & Cannon, K.G. Inheriting Our Mothers' Gardens: Feminist Theology in Third World Perspective. Louisville: Westminster, 1988.

Sacks, K. Engles revisited: Women, the organization of production and private property. In R. Reiter (Ed.), Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York, 1975.

Schatzkamer, M.B. Returning Women Students in the Community College: A Feminist Perspective. Doctoral Dissertation, School of Education. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1986.

Seidman, E. In the Words of the Faculty. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1985.

Thistlewaite, S. Sex, Race and God. New York: Crossroad, 1989.

What price day care? (September 10, 1984). Newsweek.

Willard, A. In Gilligan, et. al, Mapping the Moral Domain, 225-44.

Wynn, J.C. (September 1960). Editorial: Pastors have family problems, too. Pastoral Psychology, 11.